585

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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PROGRAM

THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

At Pittsburgh, November 17–19

Headquarters—William Penn Hotel

Tuesday, November 17

Programs for the entire day have been prepared by the Governmental Research Conference and the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

Wednesday, November 18

9.30 A.M. Technique of Influencing Public Opinion (National Municipal League, Governmental Research Conference and National Association of Civic Secretaries co-operating).
Presiding Officer, Harris Forbes Baker, President, Civic Club of Allegheny County.
Lessons from Charter Campaigns—Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the Proportional Representation League and the National Municipal League.
An Advertiser's Views on Selling Good Government to the Citizens—Ivy L. Lee, Advertising Expert, New York.
Discussion opened by Richard S. Childs.

12.15 P.M. Luncheon.
Presiding Officer, Frank L. Polk, President of the National Municipal League.
Public Opinion: What It is and How It Works—Walter Lippman, Chief Editorial Writer, *New York World*.

2.30 P.M. Planning Metropolitan Regions.
Presiding Officer, F. A. Delano, President of the American Civic Association.
Regional Planning—Thomas Adams, Director, Plan of New York and Its Environs.
Transportation in the Regional Plan—Detroit's Super-Transit System. (Speaker to be supplied.)

4.30 P.M. Business Meeting of National Municipal League.

8.00 P.M. Pageant "Steel" by Civic League of Allegheny County.
Presiding Officer, Mrs. William Thaw, Jr.
Address by Mrs. Imogene G. Oakley.

Thursday, November 19

9.30 A.M. Enlisting and Holding Citizenship Interest in Public Affairs.
Presiding Officer, Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor of *The American City*.
Co-operation Between Research Bureaus and the Public—Dr. Lent D. Upson, Director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.
Getting Results in City Planning and Zoning—Harland Bartholomew, St. Louis, Mo.
Discussion to be opened by Alfred Bettman of Cincinnati. How Cincinnati Got Public Support for an Official City Plan.

12.15 P.M. Luncheon.
Presiding Officer, Dr. J. Horace McFarland, former president of the American Civic Association.
Street and Highway Safety or Community Recreation (Mr. Herbert Hoover invited).

2.30 P.M. Problems of Metropolitan Regions.
Presiding Officer, W. P. Lovett, President of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.
What Government Should a Region Have?—Thomas H. Reed, University of Michigan.
Financing Comprehensive Improvements Within the Regions—Lawson Purdy, former president, New York City Board of Taxes and Assessments.

8.00 P.M. Annual Meeting of Proportional Representation League.

Headquarters Hotel.—The headquarters will be in the William Penn Hotel, where all sessions will be held unless otherwise noted. It is Pittsburgh's leading hotel. Minimum rates per day are as follows: Single room, with bath, $4.00; double room, with bath, $7.50. The management will give particular consideration to those who state, when making reservations, that they are coming to attend our meeting. To secure desirable rooms at minimum rates it is advisable to make your reservation well in advance.

PLAN TO ATTEND

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

The *New York Times* of September 12 commented at length in its editorial columns on Professor Brooks' article appearing in the September REVIEW. We quote two sentences from the comment: "Professor Brooks of Swarthmore College was lucky enough to be in Paris at the municipal election last May. We are lucky enough to hear about it from a man who thoroughly appreciated the show."

*

The National Conference on the Science of Politics

The third meeting of this conference was held at Columbia University on September 7–11. The registered attendance reached 102, consisting of professors, researchers, civic workers, public officials, and others interested in government. Ten round tables were conducted on the following subjects: (1) politics and psychology, (2) the personnel problem, (3) public finance, (4) legislation, (5) political parties, (6) constitutional law, (7) nomination methods, (8) international organization, (9) municipal administration, and (10) regional planning. The directors of these tables reported the results of the discussions to the conference as a whole on the last two days of the session.

Judging from the reports of the different directors, nothing unusual seems to have grown out of the round-table deliberations. It appears that emphasis was placed upon projects for study rather than upon methods as had been the case in the two preceding meetings of the conference. The round tables were more in the nature of graduate seminars. Many individuals were present who were seeking information on their immediate tasks and had little to contribute to the formulation of scientific methods for the broad study of politics. In fact, the original conception of the conference was so changed by the character and interests of those who attended this meeting that some of the leaders expressed doubt as to whether or not the conference should be continued.

However, we do not intend to leave the impression that the conference was without any bright spots. Dr. Beard delivered an inspirational and entertaining address at the opening meeting of the conference. The theme of his address was "the reflections of a Connecticut farmer on some of the problems of government." He concluded his reflections with some friendly and worthwhile advice to those who are doing research work.

*

New York Home Rule Amendment Declared Valid

The court of appeals reversed the opinion of the lower court on September 2, declaring the home rule amendment to the state constitution to be valid. This decision restores the legal status of bills passed by the municipal assembly of New

York City and about forty other cities which have availed themselves of the home rule law.

The court merely announced its decision; no opinion was handed down. The right of New York City to operate buses was not decided. The court announced that this question was to receive further consideration and that a decision would be handed down with accompanying opinions at the October session.

The decision of the court of appeals was unanimous, and reversed the unanimous decision of the appellate division given on July 6. The court of last resort acted promptly in the case. It held the amendment was legally and properly adopted and had been a part of the constitution since January 1, 1924, and that consequently the home rule statute is valid.

When the court of appeals hands down an opinion and it is compared with the opinion of the appellate division, written by Justice Burr, there will probably be enough of contradictory arguments in the two for the constitutional lawyers to fight about for at least a generation. But for most of us, the thing is settled; the home rule amendment stands. On the grounds of public policy, perhaps this is best, whatever may be the fate of the experiment. It is likely that the interpretation of the language of the amendment will put a heavy burden upon the courts. Those who have read the amendment will doubtless agree with Professor McBain that it contains "curiously inept phraseology."

*

The Watchdog of the Treasury

Congress evidently did not realize the trouble it was storing up for itself when it created the office of comptroller general. It wanted a watchdog of the United States treasury, and now it has one in the person of Comptroller General McCarl. When the office was first created in 1921 the public heard very little from it, but it did not take long for Mr. McCarl to find himself and begin to hit his stride. By 1923 he was in conflict with cabinet members by asserting his superiority in passing upon their departmental expenditures. The attorney general's opinion on the matter did not seem to disturb him. Later he characterized the decisions of the court of claims as merely "persuasive."

Recently some of the departments have become very much exasperated at the comptroller general's actions. They claim that he is a "czar," since he has a 15-year tenure of office and can be ousted only by a joint resolution of Congress. They feel that in his intrenched position he would shake his fist at the Supreme Court of the United States should it dare to define his authority! They are more convinced than ever that the United States should have a courteous and well-behaved watchdog of the treasury, and not a pugnacious bulldog! They are planning a drive on the next session of Congress for a curtailment of the comptroller general's powers.

All this talk evidently does not faze Mr. McCarl. He goes about his duties as usual. Be the expenditures large or small, they receive the same scrutiny. Not long ago he queried a bill of more than $18,000,000 submitted to the shipping board by a Seattle firm. Then he held up a $1.50 luncheon claim submitted by a government employee at Washington, his contention being that a five-mile trip across the Potomac does not constitute "travel" in the meaning of the law which allows expenses of that nature. Recently an employee of the department of commerce submitted an ex-

pense account of $4.22 for gasoline and oil used in his automobile on official business. Mr. McCarl allowed only half of it because the man's wife accompanied him on the trip. Obviously, the comptroller general knows what his duties are, and he is not afraid to take action. All of which seems to fit into this era of Coolidge economy. What can we expect Congress to do toward muzzling this watchdog, or (if you like) bulldog, of the treasury on the eve of a congressional election?

✤

Our Municipal Traffic Problems vs. Those of London

Sometime ago Sir Henry Maybury, now director general of highways in England and chairman of the London traffic committee, came to this country to secure what hints he could on the handling of traffic in Manhattan. The British metropolis has its transportation problems much akin it seems to those that afflict New York City. But in England the matter has become a national as well as a local responsibility. Parliament passed the London traffic act, under which the minister of transport, assisted by an advisory committee, is now responsible for the control and regulation of city traffic within an area covering a radius of 25 miles from Charing Cross.

The main improvement so far is a reorganization of the motor bus routes and numbers. In this way the number of buses have been restricted and the number of routes increased, so that the average bus speed has been increased a mile an hour within the last year. Prior to that time buses clogged the streets at the heavy traffic hours and impeded rather than helped the homegoing crowds. An effort has been made to co-ordinate street repair work by requiring that all water, gas, and other work which requires the closing of a street to traffic must be performed at the same time the particular street is torn up for road repairs.

It is estimated that a population of 9,000,000 lives within 25 miles of the center of London. A large part of this population lives in the suburbs, and the problem there as in New York, is to bring the working millions into the city in the morning and take them back to their homes at night. Sir Henry has great faith in the bus to meet this traffic situation; in fact, he considers the trolley "obsolete." In contrast with this point of view is that of Mr. Thomas Adams, whose article on "Regional Planning in New York" appears in this issue of the REVIEW.

✤

Kansas City Charter Upheld

On August 25, the supreme court of Missouri rendered an opinion upholding the Kansas City charter in a test case. Two judges dissented. The case had been brought before the court by stipulation, both sides agreeing to have the charter fully tested through the medium of a petition for a writ of quo warranto or ouster suit. Several points were involved in the case. It was contended that the charter was invalid because a part of it was to take effect on February 24, 1925, when it was adopted, and the remainder of it was not to take effect until April 10, 1926. It was further contended that the election of councilmen under the new charter would be illegal if held in November, 1925, because the districts had not yet been created or defined by law. Another contention was that the election at which the charter was adopted was void because it was not held according to city ordinance. It was also contended that the charter was invalid because it provided for a single house council and the appointment of a city manager. There were several other

less important contentions. All of these contentions were considered and dismissed by the court in a rather lengthy opinion prepared by Judge Atwood.

An article on certain features of the charter by Walter Matscheck, director of the Kansas City Public Service Institute, appears in this issue of the REVIEW.

✤

River and Harbor Pollution

What we are going to say is a little far-fetched, but it gets at the point eventually. Not long ago "Freckles" Devine, a six-year-old boy of Philadelphia, swam across the Hudson from the foot of 136 Street in thirty-five minutes. It is not the time it took this youngster to swim across that is the important thing, for some grown-up had made the same crossing in seven minutes less time. But it is what he was heard to ask on the way over when a wave slapped him in the face and he swallowed a mouthful of water: "What the hell do you think of people who will live along a river that tastes like this?" Those were harsh words, and his mother who accompanied him in a boat rebuked him for such utterances.

But those who know the state of pollution of the Hudson river are inclined to excuse the language of this youthful judge of river waters. Certainly something should be done about it. A commission is soon to make a study of such conditions in the streams and coastal waters of New York state. Perhaps, as a result of this study, measures to reduce the pollution as far as possible will be worked out and the necessary legislation enacted.

Another Effort at Federal Reorganization

It is reported that Senator Smoot of Utah will reintroduce the reorganization bill, reported in June 1924, when Congress again convenes in December. This measure is the result of efforts starting as far back as 1920. Senator Smoot will lead the fight for the passage of the bill in the senate and Representative Mapes of Michigan will do the same thing in the house.

The plan of reorganization which the bill outlines is not perfect by any means, but it is a step in advance. The future success of the budget system certainly depends in a large measure upon some reorganization of the federal bureaus and agencies. While the actual reduction in operating cost through the proposed consolidation is a moot question, it is estimated that $250,000,000 a year might be saved. At any rate, the number of federal employees would be greatly reduced by the adoption of the reorganization plan.

Speaking of the failure of previous plans, Secretary Hoover says:

> Every single item in such a program has invariably met with the opposition of some vested official, or it has disturbed some vested habit and offended some organized minority. It has aroused paid propagandists. All these vested officials, vested habits, organized propaganda groups, are in favor of every item of reorganization except that which affects the bureau or the activity in which they are especially interested. No proposed change is so unimportant that it is not bitterly opposed by some one. . . . These directors of vested habits surround Congress with a confusing fog of opposition. Meantime the inchoate voice of the public gets nowhere but to swear at "bureaucracy."

CLEVELAND'S PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ELECTION

BY NORMAN SHAW

An interesting story of how the charter amendment designed to return from P. R. to the old ward system of electing councilmen in Cleveland was defeated. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

A CERTAIN Cleveland citizen was reported to have gone to his precinct election booth for the proportional representation referendum of August 11. He arrived at 8.20 o'clock, an hour and fifty minutes after the booth had opened, and found that no ballots had yet been supplied for voters' use. Perhaps he also discovered the precinct judges playing pinochle or out in the lot pitching horseshoes, trying to offset the dullness of twelve hours on duty and almost no voters.

The election was the lightest since Cleveland has become a metropolis. Of the 211,828 registered voters, only 41,271 came out to the polls. The P. R. system, as incorporated in the two-year-old city charter, was sustained by the narrow margin of 565 votes. The final score was: for the amendment, 20,353; against the amendment and for P. R., 20,918. The result came as a distinct surprise to leaders on both sides of the contest.

The concern of the few, however, in a measure compensated for the apathy of the multitude. The campaign aroused tremendous interest among civic leaders and municipal experts, and it brought many observers to the city who watched the trial with their own local problems in mind. This was to be expected, since Cleveland is the largest city operated under the manager form, and the largest governmental unit in the new world with the proportional method of voting.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO REFERENDUM

Before studying the referendum in detail, it might be well to understand the events leading up to it. The charter which provided for a city manager and for proportional representation was adopted by a 30,000 majority of the voters in 1921. The change came as a direct result of popular rebellion against bad city government as exemplified under the aldermanic system during the war years and immediately thereafter. Election of the first council under the new charter was delayed by state law until the fall of 1923, and the new government came into existence on the following January first. William R. Hopkins of Cleveland was elected city manager.

Since that time the success of the plan has been almost universally acclaimed, and no attacks were made on the charter until this year's August election. Then forces on each side of the dispute tried to take credit for the manager plan and its achievements; everyone admitted the council was the best Cleveland had ever had; all tried to capitalize the personal popularity of the manager. The amendment voted upon was not an attack on the manager form of government; it was simply an attempt to abolish the P. R. method of voting as incorporated therein.

"The city manager plan of government is in no wise affected by the proposed amendment, and there is no idea

of changing it," W. Burr Gongwer, Democratic leader, said in urging the amendment. "Under Mr. Hopkins the plan works well and ought to be continued if the present experience endures."

The real cause for dissatisfaction was this: Under the P. R. plan a council of 25 was elected at large in four districts, on a non-partisan basis. Naturally, such a scheme proved a serious check on party control of the council. The August election came in consequence; the two parties sought to reëstablish their authority over city politics. This, at least, was the common interpretation put on their efforts. It was party forces who petitioned for the amendment and waged the campaign for its adoption. Their plan sought a return to the system used previous to the introduction of the Mary Ann preferential ballot in 1913. A resident councilman would be elected by plurality vote, on a party ticket, and without primary, in each of the city's 33 wards.

THE CAMPAIGN LINE-UP

From the beginning, the campaign line-up showed partisan forces on one side, and independents on the other. Democrats and Republicans merged in one powerful bi-partisan machine to crush P. R. Leaders from either party invaded the inner sanctums of the political clubs of the other, and public meetings generally scheduled speakers from both. The executive committee managing the campaign contained an approximate balance of names from each party, and, incidentally, no name without partisan affiliation. The campaign was largely operated out of the office of Maurice F. Hanning, Democrat, president of the Cuyahoga Club, and first author of the anti P. R. movement. Another active leader was Maurice Maschke, city Republican chieftain, and others were W. Burr Gongwer, Democratic chieftain, and A. J. Hirstius, Republican clerk of the board of elections. Newton D. Baker contributed articles in favor of the amendment.

Respects were paid to the two bosses, Maschke and Gongwer, in a little campaign ditty written by Edmund Vance Cooke, Cleveland's poet. His last verse was:

Many reasons there are, for voting P. R.,
As any sane man will concur,
But the two most resplendent, *against* the amendment,
Are the twin reasons, Mawruss and B–rr!

"The political miracle which many had suspected had occurred in the municipal campaign of 1921 is now an indisputable fact," was the comment of a Cleveland paper on the formation of the bi-partisan committee. "The Republican and Democratic organizations of Cuyahoga County have joined forces. . . . Once no one dreamed of a time when Republicans and Democrats would walk together!"

On the other side of the fight stood the "Charter Defense Committee," an independent organization defending P. R. and nominally led by D. S. Humphrey, a business man. The real power of their campaign was Professor A. R. Hatton, political scientist at Western Reserve University, author of the city charter, and municipal expert. Almost single handed he organized the committee, whipped his campaign into shape, and won the victory. Other leaders were Peter Witt, independent councilman and former state manager for LaFollette, Miss Marie Wing, councilwoman, and James J. Hoban, labor leader.

ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON

So much of the story is largely fact. But when we analyze the course of the two campaigns and the arguments presented on either side, we enter the less

positive field of opinion. It can safely be said, however, that both refused to face the real issues, to talk to the point, or to fight their case on its genuine merits. This is not saying the final vote should therefore be discounted; the people showed they understood the points at issue with a greater degree of intelligence than the campaigners gave them credit for having. In the heated controversy previous to August 11, the most puerile, shallow, and pointless arguments were in daily evidence. This failure to face the real issues was partly a result of the campaign line-up, with party men on one side and independents on the other. A class war does not tend to become academic.

The whole affair might well be called a battle in the clouds. Each side argued loudly and fought fiercely, without approaching the subject of the real virtues or demerits of the proportional representation system of voting. There was endless jabber about the complexity of the system, and no effort made to explain it. One side shouted "Dirty politics," and the other "Hair-brained reformers," and both continued to shoot in the dark. Occasionally, but only occasionally, one could hear an illuminating speech, which really went to the roots of the question, but the great bulk of the controversy developed into the children's game of calling names.

For example, here is what I heard an amendment leader deliver himself of one night at a bi-partisan political gathering: "The only places in the world where they have P. R. are Tasmania, New Zealand, New South Wales, Saskatchewan, Winnebago, Ashtabula and Boulder, Colorado," and then he added oratorically, "Fine company we are keeping!" Fortunately, George H. Hallett, Jr., of the National P. R. League, in Cleveland for the campaign, was not a member of the audience. Another time a particularly misinformed speaker attacked P. R. because of the "Thousands of voters who are disenfranchised when their votes are left over on unelected candidates."

Another typical campaign argument I heard one night, when a speaker said, "These P. R. people say the amendment is proposed by the political underworld. Yet forty women helped circulate the petitions. I call on you as citizens to resent this slur on our motherhood, to revenge this insult by going to the polls and voting out this P. R. monster." Perhaps the motherhood he referred to was represented by a women's political club president, who told me, "We don't want no system where yer don't know who yer votin' for."

The P. R. forces did little better. They were first of all guilty of begging the question when they named their committee "Charter Defense." P. R. may have been a factor in the success of the charter, but it was surely not the sole requisite to its existence. This evading the issue was carried out in their campaign slogan, "Save your city charter." The poem of Edmund Vance Cooke was about as scientific an argument as could be heard, with a possible exception of some of Professor Hatton's speeches.

Nor did the newspapers do anything to clarify the issues. The two papers with largest circulation were both in favor of P. R. and opposed to the amendment, one solely on the ground that the system had not been given a long enough trial. The other waged its campaign as an attack on the bosses. Neither argued the merits of any system of voting. The other two dailies, both of which were Republican, urged the amendment with the same arguments as were daily heard in public meetings. Foreign language papers generally supported P. R.

At the beginning of the campaign the P. R. supporters, poorly organized, concentrated their attack on the validity of the amendment petitions, in an effort to prevent the election taking place. The honesty of the circulation and signing of the petitions, and the correct number of signatures, developed considerable controversy, which finally got into the courts. This early phase of the fight was led by the Citizens' League and its director. Its efforts were fruitless, if not detrimental, to the real cause of P. R.

CONDUCTING THE CAMPAIGN

Once the election date had been definitely set by the council, the P. R. committee organized a campaign and scheduled meetings throughout the city. Crowds came slowly. In one week I went to three meetings which were called off when few people appeared. Many others, of course, were held. In these the case was defended almost solely as an attack on the political machines and bosses. Charges of fraud were promiscuously hurled, party control of the council attacked, and partisan aims at patronage thoroughly aired. The "Dirty political gang" came in for its own, while P. R. was forgotten in the hubbub. This type of campaign was probably good strategy, for it hit a more pregnable point in the opposition than any dry discussion of theories of voting could have discovered.

There were some exceptions. Professor Hatton spoke frequently, and presented much more intellectual arguments for P. R. than were otherwise heard. The increased percentage of voters who helped elect under the new plan, the increased number whose first choices were elected, the virtues of complete minority as well as majority representation, and the proper relation between a councilman and his constituency, were matters he clearly and brilliantly discussed. It is interesting to note that of the four public debates in which Hatton was scheduled to defend P. R., his opponents failed to put in an appearance for the last three.

The forces on the other side built their campaign around three central arguments. The first was, that P. R. created legislative blocs, tending to divide the council membership on racial or religious grounds. They cited the European multiple party system, existing under P. R., as proof of their allegation. This may have been well taken, but in the campaign it developed a certain two-facedness which cast some doubts on the sincerity of its promulgaters. I have heard one speaker go into the foreign sections and say that P. R. prevented the voters there from securing adequate representation, and then travel into the wealthy parts of the city and attack P. R. as a breeder of blocs which gave foreigners control of the council.

The second argument most frequently heard against P. R. was that the system was too complicated, and difficult to understand. As a result, they said, the citizen had no satisfaction of knowing what his vote meant or for whom it was going to be used, and consequently he was encouraged to stay away from the polls. Many times I heard a plea for a return to "The good old simple American way of marking an x before the name of the man you want."

"Only the college professor can understand this system," audiences were told, "and he is likely to have his ballot destroyed because of mistakes. They tell you this is the latest. Probably in a year or two they will dig up a new scheme and try to wish that on us."

A third point raised in favor of the amendment was the "unrepresented

ward" argument. It was shown that out of the 33 old city wards, twelve had no resident councilman. Therefore these wards were slighted in securing improvements, and were the victims of taxation without representation. As a matter of fact, in the previous election every one of the "unrepresented wards" cast the majority of its first choices for non-residents. But a special effort was made to swing these sections of the city strongly for the amendment. The results, to anticipate a little, were a great disappointment to party leaders, for eight of the twelve wards went on record as favoring P. R.

As the election approached, it was generally believed that the amendment would win. One newspaper wit remarked, the only hope for P. R. was that voters would think the amendment was a bond issue and so vote against it. A vote of 65,000 was predicted, with a 2 to 1 majority against P. R. The smaller the vote, the greater the chances for the amendment, it was believed. On election day one Republican daily carried an eight column line: "Light Vote Cheers P. R. Foes." It was confidently expected that the party man would come out first, and the independent stay at home.

THE ELECTION—P. R. WINS

The result came as a double surprise: a light vote, and P. R. victorious. On the evening when returns were coming in I happened to be on the newspaper office end of a direct line to the election headquarters, and had the pleasure of relaying news of the victory to the P. R. offices. The shouting and yelling which came vibrating over the wire when the news was heard, I shall never forget as a proof of how great and how pleasant the surprise was to them. Led by Hatton, they paraded to the Public Square and as many as could sat on the capacious bronze lap of the statute of Tom L. Johnson, civic leader of years past.

"The victory to-day is especially noteworthy," Hatton said, "because we have beaten the politicians on their own ground and at their own time. The result is especially gratifying because of the small number of votes cast." Hallett of the National P. R. League, commended the victory, as clearing the way for the introduction of P. R. in other cities.

The margin of victory for proportional representation, though small, was probably sufficient to retain the system for some time to come. One vote of confidence will tend to inspire another. Even aside from the P. R. question, it was probably particularly fortunate that this first attack on the charter failed, lest success there would encourage other changes which would ultimately destroy all the advantages the manager system had.

A very important result of the election was to weaken the city's political machines. Both Democrats and Republicans, merged in a common organization, were badly beaten when everything seemed to be in their favor. Not only did they fail to bring out their party vote, but where wards considered strongholds did respond, the voters showed little disposition to follow bosses' dictates. Several party leaders failed to swing their own wards. Of the 25 members of the council, 17 of whom went on record against P. R., 16 of them saw their own wards turn out a majority against the amendment.

On the other hand, independent forces were greatly strengthened. The election was a victory for the nonpartisan and the liberal, and the four unaffiliated council members will probably see their ranks augmented at the

coming November election. The referendum clearly showed a popular disposition to disregard party names and to vote on the merits of an issue rather than on its party relationships.

Cleveland has developed a habit of springing the unexpected in politics. Its vote for the manager plan four years ago set the pace. Last fall when the city carried for LaFollette the same tendency again reasserted itself. Now, in sustaining proportional representation, Cleveland once more goes on record as the home of a liberal electorate.

THE STATE POLICE

AN EXPERIMENT IN POLICE ADMINISTRATION[1]

BY BRUCE SMITH
National Institute of Public Administration

This article is based upon Mr. Smith's recent study, "The State Police: Organization and Administration" (Macmillan). It deals in a general way with some of the larger aspects of the state police question. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE American rural police system was founded in a time when this country was a wilderness, dotted here and there with settlements and hamlets. In the course of three hundred years a fundamental revolution has taken place in the life of the people who shaped that police system to meet their needs. There are now whole states in which the density of population per square mile is equal to that of some of the oldest nations of Europe. The entire country is knit together by a network of railways and improved highways that have literally wiped out county and state boundaries. Huge industrial cities have sprung up and spread their suburban and satellite towns for miles into surrounding counties and states. Great rural sections, without becoming cities in themselves, have been transformed into densely settled industrial areas. In some of the mining sections, farms with cultivated fields cover the superficial area, while mines containing whole armies of men are developed underground.

RURAL CRIME AND PROTECTION

It is not necessary to multiply illustrations showing the radical character of the revolution wrought in American life since the establishment of our rural police system. To do this would be to document the obvious. And yet, in the midst of these revolutionary transformations, there has been no essential change in that system, except in those commonwealths that have begun to experiment with state police forces. It is in the light of these stupendous facts, and in this historical setting, that all efforts to deal with the new problems must be considered.

[1] The above article contains material taken largely from the first and last chapters of "The State Police." This book was published September 15, 1925. The excerpts here made are covered by copyright and are printed by courtesy of the Macmillan Company.

The sheriff-constable system, being but a rudimentary device, has failed to meet the situation satisfactorily. In some cases there has been no attempt to make it efficient. The steady infiltration of alien elements into rural sections —elements which experience has shown and statistics prove to be especially troublesome from the standpoint of the police—has added still further to the difficulty. The sheriff and the constable have been brought into contact with a much larger number of people, native and foreign, of criminal intent or tendency, than ever before. And the prevailing system of rural police protection—the system rather than the individuals composing it—is conceded to have failed.

Responsibility for the condition which has arisen rests squarely upon the state government. Counties, towns, county divisions and districts, and the like, are created by the state for the furtherance of its own interests and as mere convenient agencies. This is especially true of the administration of justice. The criminal laws are for the most part state laws; offenders against them are arrested by officers acting for the state and in the name of the state. The sheriff and the constable, although selected by the local subdivisions of the state, have almost universally been held to be state officers. Removal by the governor or impeachment by the legislature is provided for the sheriff in a few cases. Nowhere, however, are the sheriff and the constable constituted as integral parts of the administrative machinery of the state. There is no intimate organic relationship between them, nor even closely related effort.

THE STATE POLICE AND STRIKE DUTY

In addition to these considerations relating to rural crime control, a few state police forces have at times found themselves responsible for the maintenance of order in industrial disputes. In fact, the state police have thus far been examined and studied chiefly with reference to their performance of strike duty. The resulting controversy has been long, and at times bitter. Although many questions thus raised remain still unanswered, it must be conceded that the problems there involved are social and economic, and that their solution is not a matter which can be effected by any police force, whatever its composition, direction or authority.

On the other hand, there is no disguising the fact that American communities are inclined to resent the use of outside force for the suppression of local disturbance. If all of these were able regularly to maintain order without other aid, the question might easily and satisfactorily be solved. Experience has shown, however, that actual and flagrant disorder has frequently required the interposition of the military power of the state or nation.

Where state police forces have been established, the state government has naturally employed them whenever local conditions seemed to require its intervention. The question has therefore been squarely raised as to what restrictions, if any, should be placed upon their use.

The charge is also made that the arrival of the state police sometimes inflames the strikers to provocative acts and precipitates a conflict which their leaders are most anxious to avoid. This contention is so thoroughly reasonable as to suggest the desirability of drawing some distinction between a *strike* and a *riot* in defining the sphere of the state police. Exercise of the right to quit work when collective bargaining fails need not necessarily involve the intervention of the state. There is no reliable evidence that the state police aim to regulate strikes as

such, but if their powers in this respect are to be limited at all, they might best be required to withhold their action in places having an organized police force until some overt act had been committed, and then mobilize their forces at the scene of disorder upon the order of the governor or the request of the mayor when approved by the governor.

In view of the responsibility which the state has for the protection of its citizens and their property, it is difficult to see how any further restriction can be placed upon the use of state agencies. If the state police are not employed in a grave disturbance, the militia will be, unless the state government abdicates—and so a vicious circle is created. The fact may as well be recognized that while a police force requires careful provision for democratic control, the means employed to that end must be concerned with the organization of the force and the discipline of its personnel from top to bottom, rather than with serious restrictions on its powers as a peace-maintaining agency.

THE EXTENT OF STATE POLICE FORCES

The term "state police" does not carry any precise meaning. It is frequently applied to loosely organized reserves which may be called into active service in emergency, or to subordinate bureaus concerned wholly or chiefly with the enforcement of the motor vehicle laws, as well as to police agencies which in point of fact are really county organizations. These multiform instrumentalities have been created as a means for supplementing the peace officers traditionally associated with the administration of rural government. Their special significance lies in the recognition of the fact that, in the preservation of the peace, the state government has a duty to perform, a right to defend, and that there are interests to protect which require its intervention.

We are here directly concerned only with that type of state force comprising a numerous and permanent body of police officers who are clothed with general police authority, state-wide in its extent, and regularly exercised. As thus defined this category includes the state police of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Michigan and Texas. Delaware and Maryland might also be included in the foregoing list with certain qualifications.

Taken together, these state police systems offer an inviting field to the student of police administration. They have developed in a new and favorable environment. The administrative processes of some have been but little influenced by other governmental agencies, and they have enjoyed direction and supervision of a kind which is all too rare in police work.

TENURE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE HEAD

The first outstanding feature of state police systems is the tenure given to the administrative head. In actual practice the administrative head has enjoyed an official security out of all proportion to the statutory safeguards which have been provided. Although the statutes either prescribe a fixed term of four or five years, or place the superintendent completely at the will of the governor, there is as yet no indication that the principle of tenure during good behavior has been violated except in Texas. The whole organization of the Rangers is so involved that it is difficult to trace the cause of this condition with assurance. It is probable, however, that it is chiefly due to the fact that the adjutant general, a political officer, is placed in immediate

charge of the force. With his retirement a large part of the force is overturned almost as a matter of course.

In all of the other forces one may see a new tradition of public service in the making. Security of tenure for the administrative head is coming to be the accepted thing. In Pennsylvania this tradition may be said to be definitely established, with twenty years of consistent adherence to the principle to prove it. But several of the other states, notably New York, are already well past the critical stage and show every promise of duplicating the experience of Pennsylvania.

THE SCHEME OF ORGANIZATION

A second feature of the state police consists in the scheme of organization which has been followed. Although there have been certain marked departures, the organization of state police forces is generally characterized by extreme simplicity. Subordinate bureaus and divisions have been so limited in number that actual supervision by the administrative head is quite within the range of possibility. Activities which are necessarily separate and distinct are so grouped and correlated that immediate supervision can be effected by a bureau chief.

The administrative head cannot become involved in adjusting the complex interrelation of daily activities without surrendering to routine in the end. When that surrender takes place the administrative head ceases to be a leader and becomes merely a cog in the machine. Further down in the official hierarchy the number of subordinate units may be increased, until, at the very bottom, where the units to be supervised are not activities but individuals, they may reach a considerable number. But at the top, the lines of authority converge upon a mere half-dozen men, or an even smaller number, who report directly to the administrative head. The latter is left free to experiment and test, to adapt and to apply various means to a given end. Intelligent leadership may thereby be made effective.

UNIFIED AND RESPONSIBLE CONTROL OF PERSONNEL

It is in the matter of the control of personnel that the state police have most clearly departed from accepted methods. Here is a group of police forces, in the service of a considerable number of representative states, which has broken completely with the civil service commission tradition. The power of a superintendent of state police is as broad as the formal responsibility which is placed upon him. He can hire and he can fire according to standards which are the product of his experience. Formal tests for him are merely a means to an end. They represent tentative measurements of personal capacity. What he wants, and what he must at all costs have, is a body of raw recruits whose character, intelligence, education and experience are such that with capable direction, with training and discipline, a reasonable proportion may be fashioned into competent policemen.

Most state police administrators exercise equally extensive powers with respect to disciplinary action and dismissals. Experience with American police forces has amply demonstrated for us the destruction of discipline and morale which follows any division of responsibility in this matter. It requires but one or two reversals of the judgment rendered by police authorities to make the rank and file understand where the real power and control is vested, and when that realization comes, the police administrator finds his prestige materially weakened. The agency which pronounces the last word

in disciplinary cases wields the preponderating influence.

Let us by all means have continuity of police service, but let that principle of continuity be applied first of all to the administrative head. If he is surrounded by suitable safeguards for security of tenure, there need be far less concern over the protection offered to his subordinates. If he is relieved from the continuous pressure of political influence, he can more readily be entrusted with the power to make and remake the police force to meet the demands placed upon it. There will then be ample security for the capable policeman, and no security whatever for those who lack capacity for the work.

RESISTANCE TO POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Politics and the police most usually present a thorny question. One might well hesitate to draw sweeping conclusions relating to such an ill-defined subject from what might appear to be insufficient data. Moreover, the environment in which the state police experiment has been conducted probably is more favorable than that which surrounds the police department of a large city. Political influence has been somewhat more remote. Nevertheless, administrative heads of even the most successful state systems can testify that powerful political pressure has been brought to bear upon them from time to time. In some of the older forces such efforts to influence the administration of the state police appear to have proved unavailing so consistently that the administrators' hands are now entirely free.

The manner in which political pressure has been resisted in Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts is especially striking. In New York, for example, the first superintendent promptly tendered his resignation to the governor a few days after his appointment as a protest against interference with the preliminary stages of organization. His resignation was not accepted, the interference ceased abruptly, and the contest between political patronage and administration was half won then and there. In Pennsylvania the regulations of the force provide that "any member of this force known to have used outside influence for the furtherance of his interests will be considered as acknowledging his incompetence and will be dropped from the service." Necessity for application of this rule has arisen but once. The action of the superintendent upon that occasion was so prompt and vigorous that the offense has never been repeated. The commissioner of public safety in Massachusetts recently declined to grant promotion to a member of the force on whose behalf political intercession had been attempted. In this case the commissioner had already decided to promote the aspirant in question. There was nothing to connect him with the political pressure which had been brought to bear on his behalf. But the commissioner ruled that the integrity of the force was at stake—that the matter was one of administrative principle which must be closely adhered to.

Illustrations of this general character have been duplicated again and again, not only in the states here cited, but in several of the others. In the light of our experience with the management and control of police forces, they acquire a special significance. Such things do not happen by accident in police circles. It therefore seems reasonable to attribute them to the superior type of organization which these forces have enjoyed, to the principles of administration upon which they have been founded, and to the character of the administrators who have been attracted to the service.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXPERIMENT

Success in police administration depends upon sound organization and capable direction. It cannot be secured by compounding inferior methods with good intentions, nor by any of the customary safeguards against political control. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that a police force cannot be taken "out of politics" unless the responsible head is also taken out of politics. But the lessons of this experience even yet have not been learned. Some communities seem even to have ceased trying to fashion their police departments into dependable public agencies. They seem to have concluded that there is some necessary conflict between our democratic institutions and efficient police service. Nothing could be further from the truth. For while we have admired the achievements of continental police systems, very few have realized that there was a necessary connection between the opportunities which they have offered to intelligent leadership and the results which have been secured. The general assumption has been that the methods employed in western Europe, in Australia, in South Africa, and in British North America could not be successfully employed under our own governmental institutions. The state police have proved that this is not the case. Having broken away from our own police tradition, they have adapted tried and tested principles to American conditions. And there, in the last analysis, lies the administrative significance of the experiment which they have conducted.

THE FUTURE OF STATE POLICE

Forecasts are always dangerous and yet when they are based on observed tendencies they may be interesting if not useful. The changes in the conditions of rural life here described are likely to be accelerated rather than retarded in the immediate future. Fine highways will multiply and the use of the automobile continue to increase. The specialized criminal who has already appeared in the country-side will doubtless be seen more often in villages and in quiet lanes. Meanwhile, inevitably, the law-enforcement problems confronting the sheriff and constable will grow to larger proportions and become still more baffling to those officers. This much seems undebatable.

In a state police system, several of our commonwealths have sought to find a force adapted to the new conditions. From an administrative point of view, the organization and management of these forces show in general a decided improvement over municipal police agencies. From the social point of view a number of serious questions have been raised, and a few of the states have attempted to answer them by placing certain restrictions upon the use of state police on strike duty. It is not improbable that if the labor controversies involved in this phase of modern policing are fairly faced by all parties and the rural law-enforcement problem is considered on its merits, a technique and correct procedure for dealing with the maintenance of order in the disputes of capital and labor can be evolved. That this will not be done by avoiding the obvious or concealing the difficult, is certain. When that is accomplished, the way will be clear for the development of agencies competent to meet all the requirements of rural patrol. If after longer experience the verdict of history is to the effect that the state police are not the proper agents to deal with the new social order of the country, the problem of rural crime in the new conditions will have to be faced in some other fashion. If, however, the verdict runs to the contrary, and an organized state police

force with defined jurisdiction and accepted procedure is found to be the right agency to meet the law-enforcement issues of the new time, then the experience of the state police bodies here briefly described will offer guidance for the legislators and administrators of the future.

CHICAGO THREATENS TO REVOLT

BY C. M. KNEIER
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The Illinois legislature adjourned on June 20, without having made a reapportionment of the legislative districts. There has been no reapportionment since 1901, although the state constitution requires it to be made every ten years. :: :: :: :: :: ::

The present constitution of Illinois, which was adopted in 1870, provides that beginning with the year 1871, the general assembly "shall apportion the state every ten years," using the population as ascertained by the federal census as a basis. Despite this constitutional provision, there has been no reapportionment of legislative districts in Illinois since 1901; the cause is the rapid increase in population of Cook county (the county in which Chicago is located) as compared with the downstate counties.

When the constitution of 1870 was adopted, the population of Cook county was less than 350,000 people, out of a total of over two and one half million for the whole state. By the 1920 census, the population of Cook county is over three million and fifty thousand, out of a total of 6,485,000 for the whole state. Thus, in fifty years, the population of Cook county has grown from less than fourteen per cent to more than forty seven per cent of the total population of the state. The downstate counties have viewed with a degree of alarm this comparatively rapid growth of Cook county, believing that so large an aggregation of people in one comparatively small area would tend to act as a political unit and thus be able to control the policies of the state. There has been a growing conviction on the part of these downstate counties that the representation of Cook county in the legislature should be in some measure limited and this large body of consolidated power in one county should not be allowed, through its control of the general assembly, to determine the destinies of the whole state. This feeling has become so strong on the part of the downstate that their members in the Illinois legislature have refused to reapportion the state since that based on the 1900 census was made, even though the constitution of the state requires that it be done every ten years.

PRESENT REPRESENTATION

The constitution of Illinois provides for fifty-one senatorial districts, one senator and three representatives being elected from each district. On the basis of the 1900 census, the reapportionment which was made at that time gave Cook county nineteen senatorial districts and the downstate counties thirty-two; this gives Cook county fifty-seven representatives and the down-

state ninety-six. Consequently, since the downstate members are in control of the general assembly, they can prevent the question of reapportionment from being brought to a vote, or if brought to a vote they can defeat it. A reapportionment based on the census of 1920 would give Cook county twenty-four senators and seventy-two representatives. Several attempts have been made since 1910 to secure a reapportionment in Illinois but in each case they have been unsuccessful. During the legislative session which has just closed, the members from Cook county have carried on their fight with vigor and determination but to no avail. They point out that while Cook county has 48.78 per cent of the total population of the State, it has but 37.25 per cent of the legislative membership. The same inequality exists, they assert, in the representation of Cook county if total amount of state taxes paid be taken as a basis for comparison.

FIGHT IN THE LEGISLATURE

The fight in the recent session of the Illinois general assembly has been led by John B. Fergus, an eighty-two-year-old Chicago citizen. He threatened criminal prosecution of eight senators and seventy-six representatives who voted against a reapportionment resolution, on charges of malfeasance in office. For the forty-eight lawyers who were possible defendants in these contemplated cases, Mr. Fergus declared that they had violated two oaths; one when they were sworn in as members of the legislature, and the other when they were admitted to the bar. A contemplated injunction suit against the secretary of state was also proposed to keep the names of legislators who voted against reapportionment off the ballot when they come up for reëlection. He has also declared that all legislatures in Illinois since 1911 are *de facto* and that their acts can be declared invalid. In 1915 he went before the supreme court of Illinois and nullified several appropriations because they were not made in accordance with certain provisions of the Illinois constitution. He has suggested that he might use the same tactics against the Illinois legislature which has recently adjourned, and whose acts he considers invalid, declaring it was illegally constituted because of the failure to abide by the constitutional provision for reapportionment every ten years.

COOK COUNTY THREATENS DRASTIC MEASURES

Cook county, despairing of securing coöperation from the downstate members of the general assembly in bringing about a redistricting of the state, has threatened drastic measures to secure what she considers are her rights. On June 1, 1925, the Cook county board of commissioners unanimously adopted a resolution directing the county treasurer to withhold state taxes collected by the county until the general assembly has performed every duty assigned by the constitution. The downstate newspapers referred to this action as a bluff and a joke, suggesting that the county treasurer and his bondsmen would be liable if the county taxes were not turned into the state treasury as required by law. The county treasurer of Cook county has since announced that he will pay over the state taxes collected by the county.

The city government of Chicago has also taken an active part in the fight to secure representation for Cook county in proportion to its population. On June 17, 1925, a resolution was passed by the city council directing the corporation counsel to start mandamus or other suitable proceedings to compel the legislature to reapportion the state in accord with the constitution, giving

Cook county representation in the general assembly based on the 1920 census.

CHICAGO WOULD BECOME A STATE

Chicago's latest move to secure a reapportionment is a threat to secede from the state and form a State of Chicago. On June 30, 1925, the city council adopted a resolution calling for a two-year campaign for legislative reapportionment, to be followed by a secession movement if the general assembly again refuses to redistrict the state at the next regular session in 1927. The resolution authorizes Mayor Dever to name a committee of one hundred and fifty citizens, including members of the council, the county board and civic organizations, to conduct a campaign to arouse the sentiment of the people of Cook county and present a determined and emphatic claim for reapportionment in 1927. If the legislature again fails to carry out the constitutional mandate to reapportion the state, the committee is authorized and empowered to petition the legislature to pass an act consenting to the forming of a new state, defining the boundaries and calling the election to determine whether the people of the proposed state desire to separate.

The possibility of secession by Chicago seems somewhat remote. The consent of Congress and of the Illinois legislature is needed and the downstate is in control in both houses of the latter. Certain newspapers have jeered at the idea of the formation of a State of Chicago as preposterous and impossible and point to the Ordinance of 1787 as a document prohibiting the creating of another state in the old Northwest Territory. Those who support the Chicago contention that separation would be legal declare that the Ordinance of 1787 was superseded a year later when the constitution was established upon the ratification by nine states.

The fact that the constitution of Illinois provides for a reapportionment of legislative districts every ten years is unquestioned; but it is equally clear that the downstate members of the legislature are determined that Chicago shall not gain control of the destinies of the state. If it is necessary to ignore a provision of the constitution in order to prevent control by Chicago then they take the view that "the welfare of the state is the highest law." It has been suggested that Illinois profit by the experience of some other states and give Chicago representation proportional to population in the lower house but limit her in the senate. This was the plan provided for in the proposed new constitution which was submitted to, and defeated by, the voters of Illinois in 1922. A plan to amend the reapportionment provision of the constitution, which would have limited Chicago in the upper house, was also considered in the session of the legislature which has just closed. There is a feeling on the part of some that such a compromise is the ultimate solution of the problem. The downstate members are now in control of both houses and by refusing to reapportion the state they can continue in control. They desire to see permanent legal limitations upon Chicago's representation. This could be done only by constitutional amendment which would require a two-thirds vote of the legislature before it could be submitted to the people. Cook county holds a veto over any plan which is unacceptable since it has slightly over one-third of the voting power in the legislature. Furthermore, the people of Cook county could probably poll enough votes to defeat any proposed constitutional amendment they did not want, so that the downstate cannot

force a permanent constitutional limitation upon them. If a compromise is reached, in order to avoid another deadlock such as Illinois has experienced, it would be well to provide, as was proposed in the defeated constitution of 1922, that if the general assembly fails to make an apportionment it shall be the duty of the secretary of state, the attorney general and the auditor of public accounts to make the apportionment within ninety days after the adjournment of the regular session of the year designated for that purpose.

Something needs to be done in Illinois to remove the strained relations existing between Chicago and the downstate and some guarantee should be provided to prevent a recurrence of the situation which now exists.[1]

[1] A situation similar to that in Illinois is found in Michigan where Detroit has considered separation because of the treatment received from the legislature of that state on the question of reapportionment of legislative districts. In connection with this problem the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research published in May, 1925, a memorandum prepared by Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan on "Methods of State Separation."

REGISTRATION FOR VOTING IN MILWAUKEE

BY JOSEPH P. HARRIS
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Milwaukee's system of permanent registration for voting gets a high percentage of the voters, is not expensive, and practically prevents fraudulent voting. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

MILWAUKEE has a system of permanent registration for voting, conducted at the central office throughout the entire year. It is effective in preventing fraudulent voting, affords a maximum of convenience to the voter in keeping registered, and is conducted at an almost nominal cost. The result of the system is that fraud in elections in Milwaukee is now almost unknown, a high percentage of the potential voters are on the registration records, and the taxpayer is not burdened with an expensive system.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SYSTEM

The present system of registration in Milwaukee was installed in 1912. At the head of the system is the board of election commissioners, consisting of three members appointed by the mayor for a term of three years, with overlapping terms. The state law provides that three, instead of two as is usually the case, political parties shall be represented on the board. This provides representation for the Socialist Party, as well as for the Democratic and Republican parties. One of the most significant features of the administration of elections in Milwaukee is the tri-party representation, which has a very salutary effect.

The responsibility for the appointment of competent election commissioners rests squarely upon the mayor, though he may not appoint a representative of any party on the board until the party affiliation has been certified by the chairman of the city

central committee of the party. In practice, the party leaders submit names or nominations to the mayor, but the mayor may refuse to appoint from any specific list and demand more names, which has been done. Two of the members of the present board have served since 1916, and the third member since 1919. A custom has grown up to reappoint the incumbent in office, if he seeks reappointment. Only one incumbent in the history of the board has been denied reappointment.

The permanent office force in charge of registration and elections consists of a secretary and an assistant secretary. The whole of election matters for 177,000 voters is handled by only two men, with an additional clerical force prior to elections. The secretary and his assistant are both under the city civil service system, and are not subject to political dictation and removal. They take no part in politics, even refusing to sign nominating petitions, or to align themselves with any political party or faction. The secretary has been in charge of election affairs in Milwaukee since 1894, having been first assistant city clerk prior to the creation of the present election board.

METHOD OF REGISTRATION

All registrations in Milwaukee, with a few minor exceptions, are conducted in the central election office in the city hall. The election board has the power to set up branch offices in various parts of the city, but this has not been done, except when new additions have been taken into the city and the voters registered for the first time. When a voter is once registered, he is registered for life, or for as long as he continues to reside in the city, and is not required to make a second trip to the election office. If he moves from one part of the city to another, or changes his address, he is required to transfer his registration, but he may do this simply by sending in a transfer request to the election office by mail or otherwise, giving his old and new addresses, and signing his name. The election office compares the signature with that on file, and unless some doubt is raised about the identity, transfers his registration to his new address without further ado. Prior to the closing of registration the newspapers of the city run blank transfer forms, and the election office distributes through the political workers and others regular blank transfer request cards, but the voter is not required to use these forms. He may write a letter or a postal and effect a transfer of registration.

The voter of Milwaukee may register any day in the year that the election office is open. He may even register after the closing date for a particular election, though registration at such a time does not take effect until the following election. Voters in Milwaukee, however, are like voters everywhere, and do not attend to registration until an election is almost at hand. The bulk of registration comes within the last two weeks prior to the closing date for a given primary or election. Practically no voter ever comes to the office to register or to transfer registration, except during a campaign.

The election office is open for registration until the last Friday night before an election or primary. This does not leave sufficient time for the office force to get the records in shape and ready for the election and results in a great rush in the office. During the last two weeks of registration the office remains open until nine o'clock in the evening to accommodate voters who cannot come to the office during the day. In the final rush registration is moved down from the election office on the second floor to the large corridor on the first floor of the city hall.

REGISTRATION RECORD

The registration record of Milwaukee is very simple. It consists of an individual card for each voter, four by six inches in size. The information required for registration is comparatively meager. The voter is not asked to state his age, occupation, weight, color of hair, employer, etc., ad infinitum. The signature is relied upon as the means of indentification on the day of election, and the questions on the registration card cover only the essential qualifications for voting. Most of these questions may be answered simply by "Yes" or "No." The only difference between the cards for men and women is the color.

The registration cards are filed in precinct boxes, arranged in order by streets and house numbers. There is only one file of registered voters maintained, and this file is sent to the precincts on the day of election, without being locked, bound, or in any other way protected against tampering. The cards are loose in the box and may be taken out by the election officers on the day of election to be scrutinized. It is a significant commentary on the purity of elections in Milwaukee that these registration records have never been tampered with in the history of the office.

CHECKING UP REGISTERED VOTERS

A house to house canvass of all registered voters is made by the police force of the city prior to every important election, in order to check upon the residence. This is not prescribed by law, and it is discretionary with the election commissioners whether a canvass shall be conducted prior to a particular election. In practice, no canvass is made prior to special and minor elections.

The police canvass is made from four to six weeks before the day of election, and a supplementary canvass of voters who have registered or transferred registration after the regular canvass is made on Monday before the day of election. That day patrolmen are assigned to canvass their own beats, irrespective of precinct lines. Many of the patrolmen in Milwaukee are acquainted with a large part of the people living on their beats, and it is generally thought that the police canvass serves to increase this personal contact, which is valuable to the policeman.

The patrolman is responsible for the accuracy of the canvass which he makes. He signs the canvass book, and if he has been negligent or corrupt in making the canvass he is subject to police discipline or removal. No special attempt is made by the police department to educate the police force in the technique of making the canvass, but the instructions on the canvass book cover the necesary information concerning the qualifications for voting, the procedure of registration and transfer of registration, and the form for making the police report. The police department feels that the patrolman needs no special instructions about how to go about checking the residence of the registered voters, since his daily duties bring him into contact with people under somewhat similar circumstances. As one captain of the police force put it: "Checking up the registered voters is just the same as checking up dogs for dog licenses."

The police canvass is very efficiently and thoroughly done. This is to be accounted for largely by reason of the fact that Milwaukee has an efficient police force, which is exceptionally removed from political interference. When the police reports are turned in to the election office, the names of

voters who are reported as dead or moved are taken from the live files of registered voters and cancelled. In cases where the policeman reports that a registered voter has moved from one address to another within his beat, the registration is transferred to the new address, but the policemen are cautioned before making the canvass not to report the new address of registered voters unless it is on their own beat, and they can check upon the residence of the voter at the new address.

PRECINCT LISTS OF VOTERS

After the police canvass is completed, precinct poll lists of the voters in each precinct are printed, and twenty-five copies posted by the police department in each precinct. These lists for each precinct are arranged by streets and house numbers, instead of alphabetically. They are posted in the precincts about a week before the close of registration, and a voter may inspect the list to ascertain whether he is registered, or the list may remind him that he has failed to transfer his registration. If he is not properly registered, he still has time to attend to it. People are curious about their neighbors, and scrutinize the list to satisfy this curiosity. This serves to deter fraudulent registration. There is always the danger that a neighbor may report a suspicious case to the election office. Actually, the number of reports of this kind to the election office is very small, but it is generally thought in Milwaukee that the posting of the list is a salutary precaution against fraudulent registration. It is also quite probable that the posting of registration lists of voters has some effect in encouraging registration. Additional copies of the precinct poll lists are kept in the election office, and are supplied free to political workers and others, and used at the polls on the day of election.

When a voter applies to vote at the polling place on the day of election, two of the judges look up his name on the printed precinct list, and if his name is found, he is given a certificate, initialed by the judges. The certificates are simply slips of paper with a space for the initials of the judges, and bearing a serial number, beginning with 1 for each precinct. The number on the certificate is recorded by the judges opposite the voter's name on the printed poll list, and at the close of election the two printed poll lists serve as the poll lists for the election. If any question arises concerning the qualification of the voter, the election officers use the original registration record, and may require the voter to identify himself by a comparison of the signature with that on the registration card. Before the time when the signature was used in this way to identify voters, impersonation was very common in Milwaukee, but in recent years has practically disappeared.

HANDLING UNREGISTERED VOTERS

The weakest feature of the Milwaukee registration system is the provision for "swearing in" the votes of unregistered electors on the day of election. Under an early decision of the supreme court of the state, the voter has the right to prove his qualifications to vote on the day of election.[1] Accordingly, the registration law provides that an unregistered elector may "swear in" his vote by making an affidavit and taking oath before a notary, substantiated by the affidavit of two freeholders of the precinct. This provision is not used to any large extent in Milwaukee, for the procedure

[1] State *v.* Baker, 38 Wis. 71 (1875); Dells *v.* Kennedy, 49 Wis. 555 (1880).

is difficult, but in hotly contested elections as many as fifty or sixty voters may be "sworn in" in a single precinct. In a hotly contested aldermanic race in the last municipal election, 329 voters were "sworn in" in one ward, which had only 4,796 registered voters. Both sides combed the ward on the day of election for possible voters, brought them to the polls, and provided the necessary freeholders. This, however, was a highly exceptional case. The number of voters "sworn in" to the precinct will average less than one for the entire city. Many precincts in every election do not have a single voter "sworn in."

The provision for "swearing in" the voter on election day is dangerous, for it breaks down at the point where protection against fraud is most needed. It is generally believed in Milwaukee that most of the voters who are "sworn in" on the day of election are qualified to vote, but undoubtedly there are questionable cases.

COST OF REGISTRATION

The cost of conducting registration in Milwaukee prior to a primary and the following election is estimated in the accompanying table, taken from the records of the election office. It is not uncommon for the cost of registration in many cities to run from fifty cents to a dollar annually per registered voter, while the cost in Milwaukee is only 12.51 cents per registered voter annually. The largest cost in registration is the personnel charge, which is greatly reduced in Milwaukee by doing away with precinct registration. The permanence of registration is another important factor making for economy, since the city is not put to the expense of re-registering the voters years after year. The cost of supplies is greatly reduced by the practice of the election board of printing its own supplies. The office owns its own printing equipment and plates, and prints all of its supplies, with the exception of the precinct poll lists, which are too large for their machine. Registration cards which formerly cost from $3 to $4 per thousand are now costing $1.46.

ESTIMATED COST OF CONDUCTING A TYPICAL REGISTRATION PRIOR TO THE PRIMARY AND FOLLOWING ELECTION IN MILWAUKEE *

Salaries of permanent employees (50% charged to registration) . .	$1,780.00
Salaries of election commissioners (50% charged to registration) . .	1,260.00
Salaries of extra clerical help (90% charged to registration) (payroll of 1922 fall election taken as typical)	4,609.27
Printing of precinct poll lists by contract (Spring Election, 1924)	6,254.87
Police canvass books—325@17½¢ each	56.87
Pasting lists of registered voters in police canvass books (By contract in 1924 at 44¢ each for 308 precincts)	135.52
Cards of all kinds used in registration (estimated)—48,000 @ $1.46 M	70.08
Blanks and stationery (10% charged to registration)	101.33
Publications (10% charged to registration)	116.66
	$14,384.60
Cost per voter for the entire electorate (177,091 voters registered in 1924)	8.1¢
Annual cost per registered voter . . .	12.1¢

PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED VOTERS

Political leaders from all parties in Milwaukee are agreed that registration

* Milwaukee has three elections every two years. The following estimate does not take into account the following items, which are indeterminate: office rental, charges for equipment, electric light, and a few other negligible items. The police force receives no additional compensation for making the police canvass.

is effective in preventing fraudulent voting. The statistics on the percentage of registered voters bear out the testimony, showing a much lower percentage of potential voters registered in the sections of the city formerly dominated by political machines. The transient section of the city, the slums, the cheap boarding houses, the Negro district, and the sections with the poorer foreign element have a low percentage of potential voters registered, while the percentage in the middle class and select residential sections is uniformly considerably higher.

The percentage of potential voters registered in the city of Milwaukee is comparatively high. A historical statistical study of this phase of registration is presented in the accompanying table, though no account is taken of the citizens of voting age who have not

REGISTRATION IN MILWAUKEE BY WARDS, 1920

Computed from the Election Manual of the City of Milwaukee, 1921, pp. VIII–IX, and the United States Census Reports

Group 1, consisting of wards located in the downtown, boarding house, slum, poorer foreign, and Negro districts

Ward No.	Potential Voters	Registered Voters	Per Cent of Potential Voters Registered
3	9,621	5,557	57
2	8,892	5,358	60
4	10,509	6,263	60
6	9,087	5,649	62
10	6,462	4,065	63
5	8,240	5,259	64
7	10,940	7,146	65
9	8,551	5,554	65
Group 2. Middle class residential			
13	9,830	6,821	69
25	11,126	7,629	69
14	5,345	3,843	72
8	8,125	5,857	72
20	13,368	10,342	73
21	10,484	7,525	73
22	14,365	10,483	73
12	7,333	5,461	74
16	7,053	5,294	75
24	6,625	4,936	75
17	9,129	6,935	76
23	11,959	9,334	78
11	7,595	5,960	79
Group 3. Aristocratic residential			
19	11,016	7,705	70
15	8,767	6,530	75
1	10,512	7,974	76
18	10,992	9,118	83
Totals	236,063	166,608	70.4

resided in the state sufficiently long to qualify to vote.

Prior to the beginning of the present system of registration in 1912 the percentage of potential voters registered ran very high, even going to 112 per cent in 1900, but this may be accounted for largely by the practice of the precinct registration boards to carry on the registers the names of persons who had died or moved out of the precinct, and gross irregularities and fraud were more or less present. Precinct registration boards prior to 1912 commonly accepted long lists of voters handed in by political workers, and put these names on the registers without question or scrutiny.

In 1912 when the present system was started, registration cards were left at every house in the city by the police force, for the voter to fill in. The newspapers gave a great deal of publicity to the new registration, and the result was that 93 per cent of the potential voters at that time registered. Two years later the registration dropped to 74 per cent, and remained near that percentage until 1920, when women were enfranchised. The percentage of potential voters who actually cast their ballot in Milwaukee is comparatively low, probably owing to the absence of strong political organizations in the city. A large registration does not insure a large vote, though it facilitates it.

REGISTRATION AND VOTING IN MILWAUKEE SINCE 1900*

Computed from the Election Manuals of Milwaukee and the United States Census Reports

Year	Potential Voters†	Registered Voters	Per Cent of Potential Voters Registered	Votes Cast	Per Cent of Registered Voters Voting	Per Cent of Potential Voters Voting
1900	71,153	79,601	112	58,173	73	82
1902	75,512	59,748	79	54,505	91	72
1904	79,871	67,261	84	63,869	95	80
1906	84,430	76,650	91	58,799	77	69
1908	88,802	83,189	94	63,153	76	71
1910	92,948	70,551	76	53,491	76	57
1912	97,324	90,200	93	65,231	72	66
1914	101,701	75,325	74	55,708	67	55
1916	106,078	80,884	76	69,069	85	65
1918	110,455	84,813	77	63,682	75	55
1920	236,063	116,608	70	123,905	74	57
1922	244,817	153,804	63	90,861	59	37
1924	253,517	177,091	70	131,066	74	52

*All statistics are taken from the regular fall elections.
† Estimated for years other than census years.

SUMMARY

The system of registering voters used in Milwaukee is eminently successful. The most notable features of the system are:

1. The permanence of registration.
2. The provision for the transfer of registration from one precinct to another within the city upon the signed request of the voter, sent through the mails or otherwise.
3. The police canvass of registration before all important elections.
4. The use of individual cards for registration records instead of the old style of bound volumes.
5. Registration at the central office only, and throughout the entire year.

ILLINOIS MOVES TOWARDS A MODERN TAX SYSTEM

BY EDWARD M. MARTIN
Secretary, Public Affairs Committee of the Union League Club, Chicago

Illinois is on the way to getting a revision of its constitutional provisions relating to taxation—a thing it has long needed. :: ::

ONE of the outstanding achievements of the Illinois general assembly, which ended June 30, 1925, was the adoption of a joint resolution submitting to the voters of the state a proposed amendment to the revenue article of the state constitution. The proposed amendment passed the legislature practically without a dissenting vote. It will be voted upon at the next general election of members of the general assembly. This election occurs November 3, 1926.

If the amendment is adopted, obstacles in the way of fairer tax laws and the adoption of a more satisfactory tax system for Illinois will have been removed. The proposed amendment grants to the legislature general powers with respect to revenue. It permits the adoption of various methods of taxation or combinations of methods. Such powers must be given the legislature if the tax conditions of the state are to be improved.

The powers conferred by the proposed amendment are safeguarded by the requirement of a two-thirds vote of the members elected to each house. This provision protects groups or sections of the state against discrimination in tax legislation. The bill originally carried a provision for a three-fifths vote, but this was changed to read two-thirds at the instance of the Chicago and Cook county members. In this way, any attempt to impose taxes considered unfair to Chicago by a downstate controlled legislature could be blocked.

Other limitations provided for in the proposed amendment are: uniformity of taxation within each class of property created; territorial uniformity of taxation; a single assessment machinery for taxation imposed on property by valuation.

The text of the proposed amendment follows:

Resolved by the senate of the state of Illinois, the house of representatives concurring therein: That there shall be submitted to the electors of this state for adoption or rejection at the next general election of members of the general assembly of the state of Illinois, in the manner provided by law, a proposition to amend Article IX of the Constitution by adding thereto an additional section to be known as section 14 of Article IX, as follows:

ARTICLE IX

Section 14. From and after the date when this section shall be in force, the general assembly shall have authority to provide by general law for the levy and collection of taxes for public purposes upon persons, property and income, free from the limitations contained in section one (1), three (3), nine (9) and ten (10) of this article. Taxes levied under the authority of this section shall be uniform upon all persons, property and income of the same class. All real estate shall be in one class, except that mineral land and land devoted to reforestation may be in different classes. Exemptions from taxation may be established only by general law. This section shall not affect existing exemptions established by law

under the authority of section 3 of this article. Taxes by valuation under the authority of this section shall be based upon a value to be ascertained by some person or persons to be elected or appointed in such a manner as the general assembly shall direct, and not otherwise. No act for the imposition, increase, continuance or revival of a tax under the authority of this section, or for the establishment of exemptions under the authority of this section, shall become a law without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members elected to each house.

Section 1 of the present constitution, adopted in 1870, provides that taxation shall be in proportion to the value of property as assessed and gives the general assembly power to impose various types of business license taxes. Section 9 provides that the general assembly may confer upon municipal corporations the power to make local improvements by special assessment, and to vest such corporations with power to levy taxes for all other corporate purposes, but stipulates that such taxes shall be uniform as to persons and property. Under section 10 the general assembly may not impose taxes on municipal corporations for corporate purposes, but shall require that all taxable property shall be taxed uniformly as to persons and property. It provides further that private property shall not be liable for the debts of a municipal corporation. Section 3 enumerates all exemptions from taxation that are now permitted.

The proposed amendment grants power to levy and collect taxes free from the "limitations" enumerated above. It will be noted that several of these provisions pertain to matters not directly related to uniformity of taxation. Despite the rather peremptory language of the proposed amendment, the courts would in all probability construe the proposed amendment to apply only to the limitations as to uniformity in the present constitution. Such an interpretation by the courts would relieve the proposed amendment of the objection now made that it would invest the general assembly with power to subject private property to the debts of a municipal corporation.

Illinois' existing tax laws were enacted under provisions of the constitution of 1870. In that year practically all property in the state was tangible and could be assessed in the same manner. Illinois has clung tenaciously to the uniform method of valuation and taxation established at that time. It has been one of the few states to hold to the uniform tax on real and personal property.

A proposed amendment, defeated in 1916, would have authorized classification of personal property for purposes of taxation. The proposed constitution, defeated in 1922, authorized an income tax under numerous restrictions. Under the amendment now proposed, broad powers are conferred as to both these matters.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

Under present conditions it is impossible to value all property uniformly for taxation. It is now estimated that one-half of the state's wealth is intangible in character. It is further estimated that about 80 per cent of the tax burden falls upon real estate. The tax on intangibles has approached confiscation of income. The result is that intangible wealth has been invested in tax-exempt securities or has been largely driven from the tax books. An example of how the administration of the personal property tax has fallen down in the state is to be found in Cook county. Of approximately 600,000 personal property schedules distributed in Cook county, an unbelievably small percentage find their way to the tax books, and a still smaller

percentage of those making returns finally pay a personal property tax.

ORIGIN OF PROPOSED AMENDMENT

The proposed amendment was initiated by a group of organizations state-wide in character, and of diverse economic interests. Represented in the group were bankers, real estate dealers, farmers, organized labor and teachers, and various commercial and civic organizations. Under the chairmanship of Walter F. Dodd of Chicago agreement was obtained on a program which was embodied in the text of a resolution submitted to the legislature.

The resolution was introduced in the senate by Senator Simon E. Lantz. The senate added two amendments to the original draft—the requirement of a two-thirds instead of a three-fifths vote, and the restriction that all real estate, excepting mineral lands and lands devoted to reforestation, shall be in one class. This change was made to prevent excessively high rates on apartment buildings in comparison with individual homes, an apprehension entertained by certain real estate groups. A house amendment inserted the word "increase" in the last sentence of the proposed amendment.

Two incidents marked the legislature's consideration of the resolution. Both the senate and the house interrupted regular sessions to resolve themselves into committees of the whole to consider the resolution. This practice is unusual in Illinois legislative procedure. At each meeting Oscar E. Carlstrom, attorney-general of the state, and Walter F. Dodd spoke in behalf of the resolution. The attorney-general is a former member of the state taxation commission, having resigned from that body to assume his present office in January, 1925. Much of the success in securing the adoption of the proposed amendment is credited to the campaign carried on under Mr. Dodd's guidance.

PROPOSED CAMPAIGN FOR ADOPTION

The organizations which initiated the measure have formed a committee to coöperate with a joint legislative committee for the purpose of carrying on an educational campaign among the voters of the state. The proposed amendment must receive a majority of *all* the votes cast at the general election of 1926. While little opposition is anticipated to the proposed amendment, since it is an enabling act only, no time is being lost to create sentiment in its favor, widespread enough to overcome the inertia of the average voter.

Two types of propaganda are planned. The first will be carried on by the citizens' committee to acquaint members of the constituent organizations with the merits of the proposed amendment and the urgent need for its adoption. The second educational effort will be carried out by the state. Under the law governing the submission of constitutional amendments, the text of the proposed amendment must be printed once a week for three weeks prior to the election in six daily papers in Cook county, and in two papers in each of the other 101 counties in the state. A pamphlet containing the proposed amendment, with an explanation from the general assembly, must be distributed to every voter in the state. The pamphlets are distributed by election boards and county clerks.

THE REFINEMENT OF OUTDOOR ADVERTISING

BY I. W. DIGGES

Secretary, General Outdoor Advertising Co.

An illuminating discussion of outdoor advertising from the point of view of the advertising concern. :: :: :: :: :: ::

MODERN advertising was recently described by Herbert Hoover as the "hand-maiden of mass production. The notion that advertising in its broad sense is an economic waste has long been abandoned." Adverting to outdoor advertising Mr. Hoover added that he was "glad to see that they are taking into account the fact that good taste in advertising display must grow apace with the improving taste of the community."

The growth of outdoor advertising has paralleled our economic development and general acceptance of the theory of mass production. Thus in 1900 a few buyers spent two million dollars in outdoor advertising; in 1924 a considerable number spent fifty million dollars; and in 1925 even more buyers will use approximately sixty million in outdoor advertising space.

This new and powerful factor in our commercial life has brought its problems as have all other business developments.

The business is now going through a period of comprehensive readjustment looking to a qualitative analysis of existing locations and a scientific relocation of such structures as do not meet with new standards. Responsible outdoor advertisers agree with Mr. Hoover when he states that "the growing complexity of our modern life requires that if self-government is to be a success there must be self-government among groups." Self-regulation is the keynote of the program for the constructive betterment of the medium.

Advanced thought in the industry has for years advocated a rigid self-regulation; however, it has had to pass through its "bonanza" stage of development. Demand for the medium has seen it expand thirty times in twenty-five years. This demand of necessity incurred some abuses, and by the same token engendered fierce competition, particularly in the matter of competition for leaseholds, from which no one gained save the landlord. Recent trade developments, however, have eliminated many abuses, and new standards, in so far as applicable to organized outdoor advertising, can be put into practice on a national scale.

I. TYPES OF OUTDOOR ADVERTISING

There are myriad types of outdoor advertising, of varied appeal and function, and in this field of work, as with the *visible* instruments of distribution, jobbers and retailers, railroads and trucks, there are many merchandising problems. Symbolically, outdoor advertising has its small retailers, chain stores, brokers, "fly-by-nighters," small manufacturers and mass producers, and just as in other industries the responsible unit pays the cost

of the irresponsible operator. *For example, over ninety per cent of organized outdoor advertising is located in urban districts, and over ninety-nine per cent of the criticism of the medium is directed towards rural display!*

Outdoor advertising falls into the following classes:

1. Organized advertising.
2. Unorganized advertising.
3. Direct advertising by manufacturers.
   (a) National.
   (b) Through local or state units.

Organized outdoor advertising is that effort which seeks to make available to all or any of the markets of America an efficient, economical and scientific instrument of distribution, through the use of pictorial or other display on structures of standard size and design so located as to reach the circulation of a particular market, or many markets. The business is said to be organized because trade associations have been formed which have written into their fundamental policy, standards of practice, structure, display and location.

Organized poster advertising is easily distinguished by two facts. The moulding of the structure, or the frame to the advertisement, is always painted green. Just above the structure appears in small lettering the name of the operator.

The organized paint medium is not at present so easily distinguished. Under new standards, however, the distinction will soon become apparent.

Specifically, the business of organized outdoor advertising consists of the publication of advertisers' copy upon structures termed in the industry "poster panels," "painted bulletins" and "electrical bulletins" designed and located to communicate advertisers' messages to the circulation represented by the number of persons passing upon transportation lines and thoroughfares in cities, towns and elsewhere.

The business is divided into two general branches—poster advertising and painted display advertising—the latter branch including the operation of electrical spectacular equipment. The two branches are quite distinct, one from the other, in respect both of plant operation and of the unit or "package" which is sold to the advertiser.

In poster advertising, the "plant," or in other words, the total number of poster panels in a given community owned and operated by the local plant owner, is divided into what are termed "showings," each showing consisting of a certain number of panels distributed along the greater and lesser thoroughfares of a city or town in a manner designed to reach the entire circulation of the particular community. At points at which thoroughfares are largely used in the evenings the panels are illuminated. The plant owner allocates to a particular contract any one of the showings of which his total plant consists which may be open at the time of beginning of service as called for by the advertiser's contract. Thus, the advertiser is not apprised, in advance, of the particular locations upon which his "copy" will be displayed, but because of the fact that each poster showing is made up of panels distributed throughout the community in such a manner as to reach the entire circulation thereof, the advertiser is assured of covering the territory through which he desires his message communicated. In poster advertising, the advertiser's copy is displayed upon lithographed posters of standard dimensions, upon structures of standard type and design.

In painted and electrical display advertising, the plant owner sells and the advertiser buys specific and selected

locations. The advertiser's message is painted upon the bulletins or expressed by arrangement of electric lights.

Structures of the organized industry are always erected and maintained upon space owned or leased for that purpose.

It will thus appear that the natural tendency in poster advertising is to concentrate at the purchasing point, and at this writing over ninety-five per cent of the poster panels of the organized industry are located within urban districts. In respect of the combined paint and poster bulletins of organized outdoor advertising, over ninety per cent is within populated areas.

The distinction between organized outdoor advertising and the operation of "unorganized" companies is not always easy for the layman to follow. It is only through an analysis of method that it becomes clear. The distinction is one between group standards and unit standards. The organized medium has associational rules and policies; others in the field have their own company standards. Some are good; some are not.

II. Standards of Organized Advertising

The new standards of the organized medium, in so far as they affect the public interest, are listed below:

(1) Structures shall not be located in purely residential districts; in the vicinity of public parks or buildings where the surrounding neighborhood is residential; in locations that interfere with the view of natural beauty spots; on trees, rocks, fences, posts, or other natural objects, or in any manner except on structures of standard size.

(2) Structures shall not be erected except on property owned or leased for that purpose, and in no instance within the confines of the public highway.

(3) Poster advertising structures shall not be placed beyond the corporate limits or populated area adjacent to cities and towns for which association membership is maintained.

(4) Advertising copy will not be accepted which (a) is directly or indirectly critical of the laws of the United States, or induces a violation of those laws; (b) is offensive to the moral or ethical standards of the community at the time the copy is offered for display; (c) induces the purchase of medical compounds, either proprietary or otherwise, which are alleged to contain properties denied at the time of offer by the organized medical profession, such as cures for cancer, diabetes, tuberculosis, etc.; (d) induces the purchase of proprietary or other medicaments alleged to be curative of sexual maladies.

The enforcement of these standards will be burdensome on the industry; the result will have caused the outlay of many millions of dollars. For that reason, methods of financial adjustment had to be devised, and a five-year program mapped out. At the end of that period all those engaged in the business of organized outdoor advertising will have conformed to these standards. It is even conceivable that with active public support and coöperation—not financial but moral—the period can be sensibly reduced.

One might illustrate what is meant by coöperation. Recently our attention was drawn to the existence of twelve poster panels located in the suburban district of a New England community. The city was bustling with commerce; advertisers wished to reach that market through outdoor display. Local regulations, of one kind and another, however, kept the medium outside the corporate limits. Apparently it was not known that the structures, with the exception of the moulding and braces, were made of high-grade steel. These facts were explained to interested persons, and, being men of business, they aided us to find a solution. Through coöperation, reasonable regulations were substituted for unreasonable ones, and suburban boards were relocated in the commer-

cial zone—at the point of purchase. It is hardly necessary to add that the petitioners did not know of the local regulations; they were buried deep in the files of a building commission.

Many similar instances could be cited, and many similar remedies found. In New York state there is another. In the city where this article is being written, helpful coöperation has avoided even the semblance of cause for complaint.

It will also appear that the procedure suggested does not disrupt the scientifically formulated plans of the industry—plans which seek circulation and distribution. Broader and more satisfactory results are accomplished. Complaints are investigated with thoroughness and fairness, not only by the plant owner immediately involved but by representatives of his association, whose duty it is to enforce obedience to established standards and practices. The method has the virtue of being direct and simple. The record shows that it is fruitful.

III. Unorganized Advertising

It is with a degree of hesitancy that the third division of this paper, which has to do with unorganized advertising, is framed. The writer's profession is linked with outdoor advertising; so is that of others of whom he will speak. Who shall judge whether we are interested in the general betterment of conditions, or simply wish the elimination of irksome competition? This states the general problem of organized outdoor advertising. The industry cannot become the censor of its competitor. It can merely go its way quietly and alleviate by the methods open to it.

One such method is to lease stretches of territory that have been abused—*not* always to advertise on them but to be assured that others do not. Long stretches of roadway, scenic spots, residential locations and other places are leased by the industry to protect itself. This is a burden, and a serious one; there is, however, no complaint because it is an operating necessity.

Several years ago, in the city of Philadelphia, the local plant owner had under lease as many urban sites as he could obtain. He used probably half of them, but wishing to assure a future for his business and his investment, he kept other operators away who had lower standards.

Another method often employed by the organized industry is to sponsor state laws, county regulations and city ordinances which better the conditions of the highways and make for cleaner cities. A legal department is maintained for the purpose of studying and framing laws.

More than this, the industry cannot do. It has knowledge, but no mouth with which to speak. That knowledge can be furnished to others, but it will consist only of statements of fact and the story which the photograph tells.

The public—organized public opinion—can do much more. It can attack the root of the evil by going to trade associations of manufacturers who permit tack signs, pasteboard cards and small structures to be placed within the public right-of-way or on fences, posts and trees on private property without permission of the owner, and it can educate these associations to higher standards.

This is the first effort. The second will be similar to the method employed in organized outdoor advertising; the individual manufacturer can then be induced to conform to the standards of the group.

The third method is to move through local societies or organizations. In many instances a mere insistence on enforcement of the law will bring

results. Wisconsin and North Carolina have good laws, but they are not well enforced; New York and Maine have the same or similar laws and they are better enforced.

In other instances a more vigorous policy must be pursued, and this will be dictated by the peculiar needs of a particular situation.

The path towards refinement is a difficult one to mount. In this brief article some of the difficulties have been touched on, some remedies have been suggested. Its purpose was to define what should be refined and to state certain fundamental facts. The outdoor medium will always exist, because it is the most economical instrument of distribution known, for many classes of products. Let us then make it more artistic, more scientific and more acceptable, and entirely in keeping with community development in America.

KANSAS CITY TRIES TO IMPROVE THE MANAGER PLAN

BY WALTER MATSCHECK
Director, Kansas City Public Service Institute

The Kansas City charter, recently adopted, has some unique features which are set forth in this article. :: :: :: :: ::

THE title of this article is not quite accurate as a description of its subject matter. In addition to the "attempts to improve," some other features of the Kansas City charter are discussed.

In a few respects, the charter commission of Kansas City did attempt to improve upon what it considered weak points of the manager plan. Several other points of difference from many manager charters, however, are due to local conditions and, in at least one case, to expediency. To the credit of the commission—a most fair, public-spirited, and broad-minded body—let it be said that in only one important respect did it bow to expediency, and then only because it feared for the success of the charter if it failed to give in in that particular. That the commission was probably mistaken in this view is beside the point.

POSITION OF THE MAYOR

There is a considerable opinion among friends of the manager plan that something must be done to strengthen the position of mayor under the plan, or in some other way to provide a political leader. This position has found expression in the columns of the Review. The Kansas City charter commission agreed with this view and had it constantly in mind. In fact, it was only when he became convinced that the position of the mayor could be made more important that the chairman of the commission became a convert to the manager system. This was, of course, before he was elected, since all candidates for the commission were pledged before their election. Accordingly, the new charter has several provisions designed to strengthen the mayor.

In the first place, he is elected as mayor. The people vote on candidates for mayor separately from candidates for councilmen. This may tend to the election of a ticket headed by a mayor, which may or may not be desirable, depending on the circumstance of each election. It will fix the mayor in the minds of the people as the head or leader of the council, regardless of what his actual power may be.

Next, the salary of the mayor was made larger than is usually the case—$5,000 per year unless changed by the council. Councilmen are to be paid $2,400 per year. Many of the charter friends believe that a salary of $5,000 is too large, fearing that mayors will be elected who are not real leaders, and who will try to earn $5,000 by attempting to assume or interfere with the duties of the manager. They fear, too, that the salary will attract incompetent candidates.

A further power of the mayor is the right to demand reconsideration by the council of any vote on the passage of an ordinance. Upon request by the mayor for the reconsideration of the vote on any ordinance, except ordinances submitted to the council under the initiative and except emergency ordinances, the council must take another vote. The mayor may request such reconsideration in writing within five days after the adoption or rejection of an ordinance. It was believed that this plan, while not requiring a larger vote for repassage of an ordinance such as a veto requires, would give a little delay where ordinances have been hastily passed and would bring ordinances the mayor considers undesirable to the attention of the public. In like manner, ordinances rejected could receive further consideration and publicity. How valuable this will be remains to be seen.

The mayor is also given some appointing power. For example, he will appoint the members of the board of park commissioners (which will be discussed later) and the members of the city plan commission.

Whether these additions to the ordinary powers of the mayor under the manager plan will have the effect desired or will prove detrimental to the success of the new charter is a matter of some dispute. Apparently, the people of Kansas City did not worry about it—probably not being familiar enough with the points involved. But among those in Kansas City who are familiar with the question, there is a difference of opinion, as there is among students of the manager plan and among managers themselves.

THE COUNCIL

For the election of members of the council, a combination of the district plan and the at large plan was adopted. The council will consist of nine members. The mayor is to be a member and president, as in all manager charters. Four of the remainder will be elected at large. For the election of the other four, the city is divided into four districts of approximately equal population and one member is to be elected from each of these districts. While, as stated, four of the members are to be elected at large, there is a requirement that not more than one of these may live in any one district. There are in effect, then, two members from each district, one of whom is nominated and elected at large.

The selection of this plan was due to local conditions. It may work. Local sentiment for district representation was strong. The commission believed that with a majority elected at large, and with districts of large size, the evils of the ward plan would be overcome.

The method of election is the ordi-

nary non-partisan election, with nominations by petition and elimination by primary. While the commission itself probably would have favored proportional representation, it was believed that it would be impossible for proportional representation to stand the test of the courts in Missouri.

One aid to the council which is not ordinarily found in manager charters is the provision for an auditor appointed by the council. The auditor is not to be a financial auditor only. He is to be the council's independent source of information and check on the administrative work. To quote the charter, "his duties shall be to keep the council informed as to the work performed, methods and financial affairs of the city." He may investigate any department or any subject on which the council may desire information or on his own initiative.

PERSONNEL

The charter commission adopted the term "personnel" instead of "civil service." The personnel provisions brought more objections from out of town than any others in the charter. The National Civil Service Reform League was quite insistent that the provision requiring certification of the entire eligible list would be disastrous. Instead of a civil service commission appointed by the council, there will be a personnel director appointed by the manager at the head of the personnel department. In other words, the personnel department will be a regular administrative department.

The next important difference in the personnel provisions is that instead of certifying the highest name on the eligible list, or the three highest, the personnel director must certify to the appointing officer the entire list of eligibles for any position, and the appointing officer may appoint anyone from the list. It is this provision that raised most objection from out of town. In Kansas City it caused little comment.

The appointing officer may discharge any employee. The only recourse the employee has will be an appeal to the manager. The manager's decision will be final. There was considerable feeling that this provision made discharge too easy.

It was the intent of the charter commission to make the personnel provisions very liberal. Back of this intent is the long history of abuse of civil service in Kansas City. The provisions in the present charter are not bad, but they are not observed. Civil service is in disrepute here. There was a strong feeling in favor of abolishing civil service entirely in the new charter. Others favored establishing a personnel department similar to employment and personnel departments in private corporations. They believed that even if there were to be none of the standard provisions on appointment and removal, there remained a place for a personnel department for recruiting, testing and recommending, and in the field of standardization and efficiency. Out of this came the provisions finally adopted.

It is within the power of the manager to set forth employment rules for department heads much more restrictive than those provided in the charter. In the charter provisions as written, the manager will find the freedom which most city managers want.

It is interesting to note here that at one time in its deliberations the charter commission tentatively approved a provision for a civil service commission organized along lines similar to those recommended by the Civil Service Committee of the Governmental Research Conference.

ON PARKS

The one case where the charter commission bowed to expediency was in departing from the rule of single heads for departments and providing instead a board to head the park department. It went even further—it made this board appointive by the mayor.

The history of the Kansas City park and boulevard system is back of this decision. Until almost the last moment the commission stood for a director of parks appointed by the manager, but it finally decided for the board plan. It became convinced that the people of Kansas City would not approve any change in the method of operating the park department, and feared that the whole charter might be defeated if the board were not provided. To jeopardize the charter for the sake of one department seemed unwise. In this fear, events since have shown that the commission was probably mistaken. The charter no doubt would have carried with a very substantial majority regardless of what was done with the park department. However, the park board provisions are part of the charter. Many manager charters provide for some independent boards. They probably will not prove a serious handicap.

FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

Kansas City has a history of financial mismanagement and large operating deficits. To prevent this happening in the future, a number of restrictions were put in the charter which will be neither of any particular value nor cause any particular trouble. One provision, however, is interesting and probably will prove very useful. This is the provision that the annual appropriation ordinance shall contain an appropriation amounting to not less than three per cent of the estimated general (operation) fund revenues as a contingent fund. Out of this contingent fund the council may during the year make appropriations for emergencies when the manager approves the requests. The council may not appropriate from this fund an amount in excess of that recommended by the manager.

The requirements for complete and detailed financial reports, monthly and yearly, are also interesting. It would seem impossible with these requirements not to have reports which would give all necessary information and give it in such form as to make it most useful and usable.

These constitute the principal points of general interest in the new Kansas City charter. There are, of course, many minor differences from other manager charters, and also some other major ones which, however, are the result of requirements of state law and which are of no particular general interest.

The new charter takes effect next April. The first council will be elected in November of this year. Meanwhile, everyone confidently expects that after next April good government will come to Kansas City to stay.

REGIONAL PLANNING IN NEW YORK*

BY THOMAS ADAMS

General Director of Plans and Surveys, Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs

Mr. Adams sets forth vividly the tremendous physical problems facing the New York of the future. :: :: :: :: :: ::

MUCH of the stimulus to the regional planning movement has come from Boston. Boston has not approached all its problems in an ideal way, but it has had the right idea as to how they should be approached. It has performed a great work in developing its system of parks and parkways; in considering its drainage and other problems in a comprehensive way throughout the whole metropolitan region instead of with sole regard to the interests of the predominant urban partner, the city of Boston; and it has for many years been doing work which has now been taken up by the state. But, if New York is comparatively late, we are, I think, obtaining much advantage from the mistakes that have been made in some cases, and from the experiences, with regard to the right way in which to do things, in other cases.

IMPORTANCE OF STUDY OF TRENDS AND COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING

We recognize that it is of essential importance that before we make any plan for the future, we should make a thorough study of existing conditions. I do not want to emphasize what is so often unduly emphasized, that nothing can be done unless by the stultifying process of making compromises with existing conditions. But we must also investigate the trends towards the new conditions which are so evident to-day, as well as the conditions that exist as a result of past developments. We must ascertain as far as we can the trends in regard to industrial distribution on the one hand and the trends of transportation in the last ten or fifteen years as a result of the use of mechanically propelled vehicles on the other hand.

We have to understand the importance of doing things for the city as a thing of growth; whose future expansion is in our making. A great deal of work which has been done and is being done in regional planning, is not based on the recognition that cities are growing things. Too many proposals for improvement are limited to palliative measures—to relieve localized congestion or to construct or to regulate separate functions of the city by zoning. Not owing to the fault of the city planners, but to the limitations of funds, or to the inability of the public mind to grasp the comprehensive character of the problems, the problems of the city are invariably dealt with in separate compartments, as if they were not all inter-related and needed to be studied and planned as a whole.

Problems of planning should be dealt with before problems of construction. This is self-evident but it is often disregarded. Remarkable progress has been made, for instance, in the last few years, in regard to the improvement of the surfaces of the roads. A great deal of this work has resulted in the creation of new evils almost as great as those which were there before the roads were improved. We have devoted, not too

*This address was delivered by Mr. Adams at the Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League, November, 1924.

much attention to the improvement of the surfaces of the roads, but we have not devoted enough attention to the improvement of the alignment, the plan, the grades. the sharp turns, and the danger traps prior to the improvement of the surfaces; and the consequence has been that in many cases money has been spent on developing highway systems, that have increased the death rate from motor accidents as the result of the lack of proper planning. The mistake has been made of improving the surfaces first and then dealing with the planning as an after-thought.

There is nothing more important and significant in connection with the city planning movement of the last few years, than the extent to which it has caused people to understand that a broad plan, a true plan, must relate to all the functions or uses of land and buildings in the city. Congestion of traffic or of circulation in any form, should be considered in connection with these functions in all their bearings.

We find in New York that proposals are being put forward almost daily to deal with isolated problems of congestion of traffic in particular places. But the problem of congestion of traffic, say at Times Square, or in the area which lies between the Grand Central station and the Pennsylvania Railroad station, is not a local problem. It is part of a problem of the whole region in which the people of New York live, work, and travel to find means of occupation, to find homes, to find means of recreation. The places mentioned happen to be the particular points where the greatest congestion occurs; but they are related to the whole problem of circulation of a region which lies fifty miles from Manhattan in every direction, in three states.

I have said that the real problem for the planner is one of trends, of tendencies, rather than one of conditions. The present situation, for instance, in regard to the intensity of use of the motor car, has developed mostly since 1915—only a matter of eight or nine years. Mr. Turner, the engineer of the Transit Commission of New York, points out that whereas today we have a commuting population of 550,000 persons, representing 1,100,000 journeys a day, in and out of Manhattan Island, in 1933, only eight years hence, the commuting population will have increased to 1,000,000, representing 2,000,000 journeys a day.

We have almost reached the point of saturation now in street traffic; and the problem is not how to deal with the situation as it exists, with the commuting population of 550,000 in and out of New York; but how to deal with the situation when we will have 1,000,000 people, nearly twice the present number, coming in and out of New York.

Then, let us go a little further forward. We have today a population in the region of 9,000,000 people. Don't let us consider what is going to happen in the year 2000, but let us consider what is going to happen say in 1960, when the children who are now leaving school will be enjoying the privilege of running the country and the city. Then we will have over twice the present population in the region, according to the estimates which are made by those who have made a thorough study of the problem of the growth of New York.

That is to say, the principal question which we have to consider is not how to plan New York for 9,000,000 people, but how to plan it for 20,000,000 people, probably within the lifetime of the majority of those now living.

We have a per capita tax rate of about $65 in New York. We have a pressure in regard to rapid transit, in regard to the use of the streets, which is almost unbearable, despite huge

expenditures of large sums of money that have been incurred to make it possible to get about without tremendous loss of time and tremendous waste of nervous energy.

Then there is the question of the growth in number of motor vehicles. I have said that that growth has been largely since the year 1915. Estimates we have made, based on all the circumstances of the growth of the last few years plus the registration of vehicles which is now going on, show that there are about 364,000 motor vehicles in the city of New York, that in 1930 we may expect 855,000; in 1960, 2,100,000. This is in the city. In the region in 1930 we estimate there will be 2,100,000, and in 1960, 5,500,000. Today there is a constantly increasing number of fatalities, due to the increased use of the highways for high speed motor cars. So we have this tremendous growth to face, with its increasing menace to life.

CHARACTER OF NEW YORK AREA AND PROBLEMS

Now, what is the character of the area which we call the New York region, and of the general problems which confront us? We do not regard it as possible to plan a city as a city alone. When Daniel Burnham, the great city planner of Chicago, was in Brooklyn in 1913, he said that the way to plan Brooklyn was to consider the plan of the whole of Long Island; and today we have got to realize that the way to plan New York is to consider the planning of Long Island and the territory that lies within 50 miles of Manhattan Island, in New York State, New Jersey, and Connecticut, as far east as Bridgeport, on Long Island Sound, as far north as Newburgh, on the Hudson; extending well into the mountain region of New Jersey, down the Atlantic Coast, to take in the whole of that territory that is used for recreation and for seaside resorts between the Atlantic Highlands and Sea Girt. We have there an area of over 5,000 square miles, and within that area we have the most complex conditions that you will find in any region in the world. You know something of its topographical conditions —of how Manhattan Island is cut off from Long Island by the East River, and from New Jersey by the North River, how even Westchester County is severed by the Harlem River requiring bridges to secure physical connection. When you consider these physical barriers and realize that the street system and building development of Manhattan Island is already established to such an extent that the future expansion for its activities must be obtained from diffusion rather than from more concentration, then you understand one of our difficulties.

Sometimes it has been said that the reason why Manhattan is tending to "grow up" is because of its physical isolation. But when you come to analyze the problem, surely the reason why Manhattan should not be allowed to grow up is because of this condition. The very fact of the obstruction to its natural expansion in a horizontal direction means that you should limit the bulk and density of the building on the portion which is physically cut off from the remainder of the region which it serves; and the very excuse which has been offered for allowing excessively high buildings in Manhattan, is the reason why they should not be allowed, even though for a time it may have been found economically desirable.

There are some people who say that all transportation and traffic difficulties are due to high buildings. That is only true in a limited degree, if at all, up to the present time. Let us remember that New York City is a city in the

making. New York City is expanding upwards and outward in a way that no other city in the world is expanding. Before the day of the skyscraper the tendency of expansion was outward, into the suburbs. London is an example, where there is a certain amount of reconstruction in the center, but where the principal growth consists of suburban development. New York is growing as a mass. Its whole body is moving, and it is moving upwards in the center, and bulging out in every direction, in the circumference. But the question of the high building is only beginning to operate seriously as a problem in creating congestion. I want to justify that statement. Mr. Turner says, in a paper which was read at one of our meetings:

> Excessively high buildings are imposing both traffic and transit burdens on the city that are almost impossible to cope with. This fact must be brought home to the public in some manner, or the necessary relief measures will be beyond accomplishment.
>
> For example, consider the area in Manhattan below Fulton Street. The area of this district is about 245 acres, or a little over one-third of a square mile. But only about 48 per cent of it, or 118 acres, is building area. The remaining 52 per cent consists of streets, parks, and cemeteries. Of the 118 acres of building area, only about 3 per cent of the total, or about 4 acres, is covered with buildings exceeding 24 stories in height, and there are only 10 such buildings, three of which are 38, 39 and 41 stories and the others are between 24 and 32 stories. The average building height over the entire district is only 7.8 stories. Yet this amount of concentration produces the traffic congestion that prevails along lower Broadway and in Nassau, Broad and Wall streets, with which every New Yorker is so familiar.
>
> Again, to serve this district with rapid transit, with only a 7.8 story concentration on the average, 20 rapid transit stations have been provided already. Think of it! 20 stations to serve one-third of a square mile of gross area or one-sixth of a square mile of net building area. The building height restrictions for this area permit a potential development of approximately 2½ times the existing heights. How can 2½ times the existing street space be provided to serve this area? How can 30 more rapid transit stations be added to the 20 already furnished, or 50 supplied altogether? Yet, if every landowner undertakes and is permitted to exercise his existing rights to the full, this is what the problem means. . . . Enough rapid transit lines cannot be supplied to permit every landowner to develop his land to this degree.

Over the whole of Manhattan, the average building is below five stories. The average in Manhattan is about the same as that of the central area in London or Paris. It is when the floor space exceeds that of other cities and the average height exceeds that of other cities, that the real problem of congestion will occur. So we haven't yet faced the problem of congestion which the high building is going to cause, for the reason that every one of the owners of the three and four story buildings has the right to erect a 20 or 30 story building, or as far as the zoning law will permit.

Relief of the situation in regard to rapid transit can be obtained for some time, Mr. Turner suggests, by developing the rapid transit system to an extent which will cost the city of New York about $700,000,000! Mr. Harvey Corbett proposed to provide the relief by double-decking or triple-decking the streets.

We find that at 48th Street and Fifth Avenue, complete saturation will be reached, even if we do all the widening we can, impose all the prohibitions on traffic we can, get rid of the elevated railroads and put in subways—that even then, saturation will be reached for motor cars if they increase at the present ratio, in the year 1933, or eight years ahead.

So we'll soon be made to understand that the real problem of dealing with a city like New York, or any other city,

is not a problem of saying that you shall not park your car in front of a certain building; it is not a problem of saying that you will convert a street into a one-way street; it is not a problem of regulating traffic; but it is a problem of planning cities comprehensively over wide areas, comprehensively in regard to their functions, for the purposes for which they exist.

The question of playgrounds links up with the question of traffic on the streets. Today the only safe playground for children is the garden attached to the home, for the mothers will not allow the children to go to the playgrounds even if they are within short walking distance from where they live; for they would rather have the sporting chance of saving their lives in the streets in front of their own homes than let the children get out of their sight. There is sufficient land in this country to serve the needs of its people for recreation and wholesome living conditions. More land is not needed but more attention to city planning that will provide proper distribution of the population.

The planning of parks has to be considered in connection with traffic. We are making a census of the traffic that passes through every entrance and exit of Central Park. Why? Because today it is hardly possible to see a great portion of Central Park for the purpose for which it was designed by Mr. Olmsted, without the danger of losing your life crossing the rapid streams of traffic which pass through it.

CO-OPERATION NEEDED FOR REGIONAL PLANNING

To deal with city planning in the region of New York there is, unfortunately, no administrative or political body that can function. It is hard enough to get collaboration between the city and the state, or between two adjacent states; it is much harder to get collaboration between three separate states, with 400 incorporated and unincorporated communities within them having common economic interests but separate, and, perhaps to some extent, conflicting political interests. I want to say this, however, that none of those who have been associated with the planning of New York have had the slightest cause for dissatisfaction with regard to the willingness of these communities to collaborate. We have had the utmost coöperation from the governing authorities of three states and of all the different communities within the region. There is a gradual awakening to the fact that this problem of the growth of New York is a problem of the whole region, which has helped to bring this spirit of coöperation into being.

One of the difficulties we have in New York is due to the fact that we have two great passenger railroad terminals within a short distance of each other; and no more. If you take the case of London, you have ten or twelve main passenger stations existing in the city, separated by several miles, allowing a diffusion of traffic which greatly facilitates movement in the city. In New York the greatest traffic movement is between two of the railroad stations, the Grand Central and the Pennsylvania. We have no loop such as there is in Chicago; but we have all the difficulties of a loop between 42nd and 34th Streets and 7th Avenue and Lexington.

PORT DEVELOPMENT

Then we have the connection of traffic with port development. Nearly one-half of the freight that comes into New York is in the form of less-than-carload lots; a great proportion of which is loaded not directly at the factory, but carted by road to rail

from the factory, and distributed, unfortunately under tremendous difficulties and confusion, at its main destination by road. If places like New Jersey, with the potentialities that exist in its 26 square miles of meadows, will apply business principles and some vision to consider the trends of development in regard to right approaches to harbors, in regard to distribution of freight, they can bring about an important improvement in their conditions, with great advantage to the industries of the eastern states. We are facing an entirely new condition in regard to the transportation of freight and the development of the commercial vehicle; and the highway is really only at the beginning, instead of having reached the point of serving the full needs of the community.

In the New York situation, therefore, we have to contemplate the question of improving the port facilities—not merely of building piers and developing streets along the water front, but of improving the means of access by railroad and by highway to the whole region, from these harbors and piers. This means that it is a question of planning over wide areas. It is in developing the new opportunities, that modern conditions have created, rather than in bolstering up institutions that have become obsolete in the face of scientific growth, that the greatest benefits can be gained for industry and human life from our planning operations.

IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION

I think we ought to realize, when we are discussing transportation and traffic in relation to a region, that transportation and traffic are not the most fundamental things. A city does not exist in order that we may move from one place to another, or in order that we may move traffic from one place to another. It exists as a center of manufacture and commerce. Under modern conditions manufacture and commerce cannot be carried on without transportation; but they are a cause rather than an effect of transportation; and the things we transport are really more fundamental to our lives than the actual process of transportation.

But when you come to the planning of a city you deal with transportation first in order of study for this reason: that you have to develop a unified system of transportation. Next to topography it is the most powerful factor in conditioning the city. You can be fairly flexible in the placing of your industries, in regard to the control of your marketing facilities, in regard to the zoning of your factories and homes. But with regard to developing your transportation you must have an organized system for the whole region. Therefore, in making a study of a region like New York we have first in order to consider the planning of the transportation system—in the broad sense relating to all means of communication by waterway, railway and highway. This matter is being studied in all its phases by the engineering division of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs. The two consultants of that division are Colonel William J. Wilgus, who is consultant in transportation, and Mr. E. P. Goodrich, who is consultant in traffic. Mr. Harold M. Lewis is executive engineer of the office. They are considering the development of improved terminal facilities for the main line railroads, and the rapid transit and other facilities for internal communication within the built-up portion of the region. A plan of outer and inner belt lines, so as to promote diffusion rather than

further concentration of the population, will perhaps be one of our proposals.

When we come to consider this question of extension of transportation and transit facilities we naturally are forced to consider how best to serve new areas, for the purpose of creating "satellite cities" in which the population and the industries can move from the center outwards. In that connection we have first to make a study, as we have done under Dr. Robert M. Haig, of the tendency of industry to stay in one place or to move from one place to another.

TROLLEYS AND BUSES

The operation of buses as an auxiliary to rapid transit and an alternative to the trolley is under investigation. My own feeling is that we have been too hasty in condemning the trolley car as being unsuitable for any situation because it is badly adapted for congested areas. One reason why the trolley hasn't been of as much use as it might have been, is because the road system has not been suitable for the trolley as a mode of transportation. One of the greatest municipal engineers in Britain, Mr. John Brodie, of Liverpool, designs new highways to be used for trolley lines, 120 feet wide, in suburban areas at far less cost than subways. On these wide roads with a separate track for trolleys a fairly high speed is possible. I believe the bus has a great future but that the trolley can still perform a service in suburban areas if we provide it with proper rights of way. One of the reasons why the bus line can operate more economically than the trolley is not merely the advantage of elasticity, of mobility, but the fact that as a general rule the buses do not have the expense of maintaining the roadbed; that they get the use of the highways at the expense of the city at large, except to the extent that they make a payment for some form of license or meet their share of taxes.

One of the things which you should guard against is the adoption of the bus as a means of excusing yourself from planning your cities properly. Merely because the bus is more flexible and can be worked in a narrow or crowded street system, may mean that it is being used as an excuse for avoiding the planning and building of new highways of adequate width. The bus has its place in a system of transportation as part of your plan, but under a properly planned street system the trolley will also have an important place. A properly planned city would permit the efficient and economical operation of both in the right place.

ARE CITIES CIVILIZED?

I repeat that what is needed in cities is comprehensive planning with a view to making cities more civilized for industry and homes. If I were to say that what we need is more "scientific" planning, I am aware that this term would condemn it in the minds of many people; and yet that is what I really mean. I mean that we should apply the same kind of foresight to the development of a city that the head of a great industry applies to the development of his business. It means that we should plan the city so as to make it function efficiently as a business organization. That means that we should first make a comprehensive survey, and find out what the city does and is, as well as where it is tending in all phases of its growth.

I read a statement in an English paper some time ago to this effect: that the modern city was a thing to be proud of; that the wonderful things that private enterprise had done in building up cities did not provoke

enough admiration. Then recently at a convention of the American Chemical Society, a man who is an industrial leader and who cannot be regarded as a visionary—a man who has made his money out of the chemical industry—said in effect that the homes of to-day were the most civilized that ever existed, but that the cities were the most uncivilized. There is some truth in both these points of view.

In any case we should not regard the city in any respect as if it cannot be improved. We need the stimulus of trying to provide the things that will make community life as civilized as family life. We need to be convinced that it is practical to prevent congestion, disorder and unwholesomeness and yet maintain sufficient concentration for business needs, in the city. If once that conviction comes home, the power to achieve will come with it. It is a tremendous task; to arouse people from their indifference to these problems.

Perhaps you are thinking that it is too late to plan in New York. How can it be with the great growth of population expected in the next twenty or thirty years? Then again you may be thinking how it is possible for any group of men, expert as they may be, the highest products of the School of Landscape Architecture at Harvard reinforced by twenty or thirty years of experience, to visualize the future.

Well, we have two examples of cities that have been planned—Washington and Edinburgh, both planned at the end of the eighteenth century. In both of these cities perhaps the principal defects apparent to-day are the changes that have been made in the original plan. In New York, which was planned in 1811, the commissioners of that day, of course, could not visualize the railroad, much less the motor car, yet they gave the city a street system which was entirely adequate if the scale of the buildings had been adjusted to the scale of the streets that were provided for the purpose of meeting the needs of circulation.

Finally, to reiterate, in planning a city there must not only be regard for the importance of studying the interrelations of all problems of growth, but regard also to scale, and proportion between all physical features, and to the need of providing elasticity in the plan so that it may be easy of adjustment to meet future changes. And as the city grows so the plan must grow. No city plan is ever finished while the city lives.

THE CONDITIONS OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT IN CHICAGO

BY LEONARD D. WHITE
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In this article Professor White summarizes the results of a careful study of the municipal employment conditions in Chicago. :: ::

UNDER the general directions of the committee on local community research of the University of Chicago and at the initiation of Mayor William E. Dever a study has been under way for about a year of the conditions of employment in the city service of Chicago. The purpose of the study was somewhat different from the ordinary type of efficiency survey, as it was intended to analyze employment conditions from the point of view of the employee, to propose whatever changes seemed necessary to assure him of a "square deal," and to meet all legitimate claims so far as possible. The underlying thought is therefore one which has already become familiar to employment managers and which has been expressed with notable clarity by Sheldon. He writes: "Industry cannot be rendered efficient while the basic fact remains unrecognized that it is primarily human. It is not a mass of machines and technical processes; it is a body of men. It is not a complex of matter, but a complex of humanity."

The study of municipal employment conditions became therefore a study of the human relationships in the city service and the factors and conditions which govern them. The methods of inquiry were dictated by the general purpose in view, and consist primarily in personal interviews with about seven hundred city employees or applicants for a city job. To a slight extent the records of the civil service commission, the pension board, and other city agencies were found of value. Cordial support was given to the study at all points by the employees and by their numerous organizations and unions.

I. ANALYSIS OF EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

The two major sections of the final report to the mayor consisted in an analysis of existing causes of dissatisfaction and a series of constructive recommendations. They were preceded however by a more general analysis of employment conditions, a summary of which is contained in the following paragraphs.

The important conditions of employment from the point of view of this study included the scope and variety of employment; the stability of the service, resulting in a very low turnover, slow promotion, fixed personal relationships, and a high degree of organization; a limited range of opportunity; the absence of the incentives of competition and rivalry; the lack of cohesion among groups; and the prevalence of the spoils system.

The city employs about 22,000 men and women, excluding the teaching staff. Turnover is negligible, with the exception of the engineering and

nursing services. Stability is an outstanding characteristic. We were informed at the outset that there was no turnover except that occasioned by death or removal, and that nothing would be gained by studying rates of turnover in different offices. As a matter of fact, these figures are nowhere to be found. The rate of promotion is uneven and relatively slow; study of 549 cases indicates that about four years and four months are spent on the average in each grade. There is, however, the widest variation.

Although the city service is very highly organized both in the form of associations and trade unions, there is little cohesion among the different groups. The methods of some of the unions are rough and ready. Referring to one of their leaders, a prominent city official remarked, in a moment of desperation, "His word goes and we know it."

The limited range of opportunity is revealed by a study of salaries paid to employees immediately prior to their retirement or pension. Analysis of 110 cases showed that 87 retired on a salary of $3,000 or less, and that of these 54 retired on a salary of less than $2,000. These salaries were reached after an average of about twenty-three years of service.

An attempt was made to discover the motivation of men and women seeking employment by the city. The results led only to tentative conclusions, but it appeared that the dominant motives were the desire for security, for steady work, for good salary and for good working conditions. A large variety of reasons were given, including among others the influence of friends or relatives in the service, pleasant work, pension, work for the government.

A series of interesting case studies was developed on this point, a few of which are given in the following paragraphs:

Mr. B., a collection agent, 22 years of age, has been a law student and is an aspiring politician, a precinct captain, who wants to get into the city service as an aid to getting a start in law, as well as for the political experience.

Miss F., a young stenographer, 20 years of age, regards security and association with the "better class" as the chief advantages of the civil service. She has a cousin and a number of friends in the service.

Mr. G. is a Lithuanian employed on temporary appointment in the Corporation Counsel's office. He was reported by the investigators as a "keen fellow," a leader of a Lithuanian organization, but not an ordinary politician. He has studied accounting and civics in the Y. M. C. A. school and is especially interested in municipal government. He feels that he could make more money in business, but the security of the civil service and the pension appeal to him.

Mr. P., a license inspector, 62 years of age, with a common school education, had been at work as a doorman in a shoe store. He wants a position where he will not be laid off because he is getting old, where, as he puts it, he can be "at peace."

II. Causes of Discontent in Service

The analysis of causes of discontent revealed a considerable number of varying importance in different departments or branches of the service. They included: (1) lack of recognition, (2) inadequate discipline, (3) loss of initiative, (4) absence of common social life, (5) maladjustment of salaries, (6) waivers, (7) efficiency records, (8) delay in posting eligible lists, (9) the influence of politics, and (10) special conditions.

The two circumstances which are cited by employees as being most important in depressing morale are political manipulation of the civil service and unsatisfactory handling of the salary and wages problem.

Lack of Recognition

One of the very widespread complaints made by city officials and

employees is lack of recognition. They feel strongly and in some cases resent the failure of the public as well as the failure of their superiors to acknowledge unusual achievements or outstanding capacity or merit. They say, "Whenever we make a mistake, some one jumps on us for it; but whenever we do something well nobody pays any attention to us. We never get any recognition except when we get 'bawled out.' Nobody ever comes around to give us 'a pat on the back.'"

Remarks such as these were made very frequently to the investigators, and there can be no doubt that the sense of lack of appreciation is widespread.

DISCIPLINE

Morale is being undermined in some offices by lack of proper discipline, and throughout the city service the variations in discipline from department to department or from office to office cause a not inconsiderable amount of ill-will. The importance of fair discipline in maintaining an efficient working force is undoubted, and in municipal employment, where there is always a minority more or less extensive who come into the service through political influence, the need for and the difficulty of maintaining discipline are both the greater. The idea of the city hall entertained by the public is very largely affected by the presence or absence of proper discipline.

LOSS OF INITIATIVE

A depressive which grows out of general conditions is the feeling that reward is not related to effort and ability. There are enough cases in which incompetents are retained on the pay roll, reaching the maximum pay by regular increments at exactly the same rate as the most efficient and active employees, to make the point sufficiently clear. There are other cases in which long service brings no chance of promotion, and other cases in which some fortunate individuals climb the ladder to responsible positions at a rate which is almost incomprehensible to their fellow employees. The feeling of discrepancy between effort or ability and reward may be strengthened by a process of self-evaluation which gives results not always in accordance with the facts.

Loss of initiative comes also from a monotony which is characteristic of some types of work. Cases were cited to us in which employees worked at the same job for fifteen years or more with no change in methods and no change in the type of work. In some types of inspection one group is kept at work on office work, another on field inspection. It might be possible to release a new fund of energy by varying the indoor and outdoor work at regular intervals, and certainly such a plan would tend to restore confidence of each group in the other. Some employees, seeking relief from the monotony of a single occupation, take on additional duties in their offices as emergencies or new conditions arise. This goes on well until the jealousy of the head of the office is aroused. The result is, as one broad-minded employee put it, that "the city hall is full of high priced office boys."

The general set up of municipal employment does not in fact develop the initiative of employees. This result is reasonably clear but the tangle of circumstances which brings about the result is not easily unravelled. The necessity for self-protection, the injection of favoritism, the difficulty of securing tangible rewards for creative effort, the failure to earn recognition for meritorious work, lack of interest in the job, personal friction, "getting in a rut," blind alley employment,

native inertia, probably all these play a part.

SALARIES AND WAGES

The problem of salaries and wages offers a variety of sources of dissatisfaction. There is some complaint that the general level of salaries is too low, more complaint that inequalities of salary exist between individuals, and also complaint concerning the process by which salaries and wages are fixed. The wages of all union employees are fixed by the council at the level maintained by industry and there seems to be little dissatisfaction in this large section of the city's force on the wages situation. The relationship between the salaries of organized labor and those of the unorganized classes of city employees, however, is a fruitful source of discontent.

No attempt has been made to work out in detail the relation between salary increases and the changing cost of living, but in the case of the unorganized force there can be no doubt that salaries have fallen substantially behind the rising curve of the cost of living.

WAIVERS

A source of bad feeling which would hardly occur to an outsider lies in the widespread practice of "waiving" an opportunity for promotion to a higher rank with higher pay. The conditions which encourage this practice are of much interest because they shed light on the character of the civil servant.

Why should a municipal employee deliberately reject an opportunity for promotion? Several cases must be distinguished to give a complete answer to this question. (1) An employee has long been employed in a given bureau, with whose work he is familiar, whose surroundings have become pleasant and agreeable, and whose personal relationships are well established. To accept a promotion means the necessity of taking over a different kind of work, of changing environment, and of breaking off agreeable personal connections. Reluctance to submit to these necessities may outbalance the desire for higher wages. (2) This reluctance becomes the stronger when the employee learns that discipline and work requirements in the vacant position are more rigid than in his bureau. (3) It is also powerfully affected by the possibility that soon another vacancy in the same grade will occur within his own bureau, to which he may look for promotion. (4) Uncertainty about his capacity to do other work satisfactorily weighs in the minds of some, especially the older employees, or those whose work has been highly specialized. In cases of failure in a new position, the employee is not reinstated in his former line of work, but is separated from the service. The penalty is thus a severe one, and without doubt is an active cause for refusing promotion to other offices. (5) In the cases just mentioned the waiver is voluntary. Unfortunately, many waivers are extorted as the outcome of more or less pressure.

EFFICIENCY RECORDS

A pronounced source of dissatisfaction arises from the failure to handle efficiency records properly. Accurate, honest, efficiency records, kept current, open to inspection, and applied to determining promotion, advancement, and assignment would be a powerful stimulant to constructive effort, both as a recognition and reward to the more capable, and as a spur to the less. As a matter of fact, as efficiency records are actually handled in some departments they furnish the basis for such comments as these: "efficiency records are a joke," "they work against the best employees." There is little con-

fidence in the ratings; on the contrary they are looked upon in some quarters as one of the most effective means to "get" employees out of favor with the head of the office. One of those active in establishing efficiency records a decade ago states that he thinks they now have no value whatever.

ELIGIBLE LISTS

Delay in posting eligible lists is a depressive. One applicant said to an interviewer, "I will be dead a thousand years before I hear from my examination. What's the use?" Others made no secret of their belief that prolonged delay in posting lists was occasioned by reluctance to displace temporary with permanent employees.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

One of the underlying causes for discontent which affects all the conditions noted in the preceding pages, is the influence (both real and suspected) of politics in securing appointments, promotions, assignments, leaves and special favors. The existing situation is primarily the outgrowth of a lax enforcement of the merit system under preceding administrations, which has inevitably produced in the minds of many city employees the conviction that the only way to get ahead in the city service is to secure political backing. Only an aggressive and complete enforcement of the merit law and the energetic elimination of the accumulated maladjustments of the last ten years can eliminate this point of view. The repeated declarations of the present administration in favor of such enforcement, and the reduction of temporary appointments from 5,500 (out of a force of about 22,000) to less than 2,000 have done much to restore confidence in the ultimate elimination of a considerable proportion of political influence. The occurrence of some cases in which it was thought that political influence was the dominating motive has on the other hand tended to raise doubts as to the consistent and effective application of the declared policies of the administration.

III. Recommendations

The recommendations made to Mayor Dever approach the underlying problem from several points of view. In general they are all intended to create an employment situation out of which will spontaneously arise loyalty to the city, interest in the work, and the most effective use of latent capacities of employees.

The recommendations include:

1. A plan for systematic recognition of meritorious work.
2. A plan for periodic exhibits.
3. Changes in organization and methods.
4. Establishment of a Business Organization for the city.
5. A constructive program for the civil service commission.
6. Special study of a plan for widening the opportunity of public employees within Cook county.
7. Systematic study of physical working conditions.
8. Special study of the salary problem, along with reclassification.
9. Fair and uniform discipline.
10. Encouragement of intergroup competition.
11. Encouragement of social life of city employees.
12. Establishment of an Institute of Municipal Administration.
13. The active leadership of the mayor in personal matters.

SYSTEMATIC RECOGNITION

Of these recommendations the first and one of the most vital is a plan for systematic recognition of meritorious

service. Such recognition may be either by groups or by individuals, and should include both. The details of such a plan will naturally require to be worked out by those in responsible positions.

In the first place, it seems advantageous to establish annual recognition of the best work done by a city department. In this competition a small department would have equal opportunity with a large department, as the test of excellence should be the use made of available resources.

We recommend as a well tried and tested means of recognition, an appropriation of $15,000 by the city council for rewarding meritorious service in a financial way. This plan is now in operation in the police department and is giving good results. We recommend that awards be made monthly to an amount to be determined by the appropriation ordinance. Selection should be made by an advisory committee of five persons selected by the mayor from the city departments, who would consider (1) cases sent up by department heads, (2) cases brought to their attention from other sources.

Some cases of exceptional merit, perhaps not more than three or four, should be selected annually for special notice at the meetings of the Business Organization. Those men should be called in and presented to the meeting with a brief statement of their service and a word of commendation and appreciation by the mayor. In other cases a properly engraved letter signed by the mayor should be forwarded as a testimonial.

DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

In order to set up the most favorable conditions for creating good will and stimulating loyalty and pride in the city service, certain changes in organization and methods are recommended. These include in part practices already in existence in some departments. The recommendations include (a) frequent conference between heads of the departments and their responsible subordinates, (b) quarterly professional or technical meetings, (c) an annual social meeting, (d) an employees' committee in each department, (e) a morale officer in each department.

THE BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

The functions of the proposed Business Organization for Chicago are recommended to include the following matters:

1. To serve as a means by which the mayor can make known his position on matters of administration to those in charge of various bureaus, and to discuss the financial status of the city.
2. To be a means of securing publicity for the work of the city.
3. To give opportunity for recognition of meritorious work by any bureau and for the award of prizes.
4. To consider, through committee appointed by the mayor, any matter laid before the business organization. Such topics might include the best utilization of building space owned by the city; consolidation of areas of administration; elimination of duplication, as in inspections; development of efficiency records, and the like.
5. To create an *esprit de corps* among the permanent city employees, and increase their sense of responsibility for good government.
6. To stimulate a sense of personal loyalty to the mayor and to the interests of the city.

Membership in the proposed Business Organization would comprise not over two hundred of the higher administrative officials, including heads and assistant heads of departments, bureau chiefs, head clerks, superintendents of institutions and others of similar grade.

PROGRAM FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Of far greater difficulty is the elimination of political favoritism. It is unnecessary to deal with the pessimistic conclusions of many that politics can never be rooted out of municipal administration; much of it can be, by steady pressure in the right direction. We recommend therefore that to the greatest possible extent, a firm and consistent stand be publicly taken by the administration in favor of the elimination of favoritism and the proper enforcement of the merit system, and that all acts of the administration harmonize with this position. Two or three specific changes will go far to demonstrate a point of view which would lift the morale of the permanent employee over night: (1) an aggressive administration of the civil service law by the civil service commission; (2) the elimination of political regrading of positions; (3) the more rapid posting of eligible lists.

The civil service commission is the center of administration of the merit system and its work is watched with the closest attention by city employees. Every care must be exercised to demonstrate its good faith, as hundreds of employees are so completely disillusioned as to suspect its integrity upon the slightest provocation. We therefore recommend the following constructive program to be undertaken by the commission.

1. Vigorous prosecution of its campaign to eliminate all temporary appointments.
2. The reclassification of the service.
3. Reconsideration of the system of keeping efficiency records.
4. Reduction of the interval elapsing between giving the examination and posting the eligible list.
5. Completion of office records and preparation of comprehensive annual reports.
6. Enlargement of staff.
7. Establishment of a civil service advisory committee.

OPPORTUNITY FOR PROMOTION

In order to attract a higher type of applicant for the city service, we recommend that consideration be given to the plan already discussed in some circles to open up the eligible lists to industrial and commercial firms.

Parallel with the foregoing recommendations is the further proposal that steps be taken opening up the possibility of transfer from city to county, park, state, and federal service and vice versa, within the urban area of Cook county. There are a large number of civil positions in each of these jurisdictions having comparable duties and responsibilities, and the training received in one service would be in many cases equally pertinent to another. The clerical service, the engineering and medical service, the custodial and operating engineer service, would readily furnish similar occupations. If it were made easy for employees to transfer from one service to another the range of opportunity for an able and aggressive employee would be greatly widened. This enlarged opportunity in turn would tend to attract men of capacity and aggressiveness.

ADJUSTMENT OF SALARIES

The dissatisfaction arising from salaries is due to deep seated difficul-

ties for which no ready solution can be found. It is clear, however, that there is a decided need for a thorough going reconsideration of the salaries paid to all employees, resulting in a reclassification of the service and bringing employees again into line with the classification maintained. A careful reclassification will solve only a part of the difficulty. Some means should be found of adjusting salary scales to the changing cost of living, and of striking a balance between one kind of employment and another kind by means other than a threat to resort to strike, or the necessarily hasty consideration which the finance committee can give the question. We recommend, therefore, that careful consideration be given by some agency specially chosen for the purpose and representing all groups interested in this important and difficult problem.

AN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The city service is large enough to make feasible the rapid establishment of the framework within which the ideal of professional competence could be developed. The men and women with professional training could readily take the initiative in founding an Institute of Municipal Administration. Ascertained competence in some branch of the municipal service would be the test of membership; associate membership might be granted to those who were not fully able to meet the qualifications for a period of years, and honorary membership would permit technicians outside of the service to coöperate. The guidance of the institute should be irrevocably fixed in the hands of the members, and the utmost care should be taken that none except properly qualified municipal and other public employees be admitted.

Sections would be developed for special professional groups, as the engineers, the sanitarians, the accountants, and others. The sections meeting separately and the institute in an annual or semi-annual gathering would devote themselves to the study and perfection of their profession, and the enlargement of its contribution to the life of the city. The methods available to them would include assistance in securing well-trained entrants, in forwarding their training within the service, in the preparation of technical reports, in the reading of papers, and in the award of prizes. While the initiative should come from within, support for such an institute would be found in large measure in the professional groups within the city, in the universities, and in the nation wide interest which it would attract.

The foregoing recommendations are offered in the belief and with the desire that they will make city employment more worth while to the men and women who are engaged in it. It is clear that some of these recommendations, which cut at the existence of abuses of long standing, can only be carried out in degree, and by persistent effort. Some parts of other recommendations have already been tried out in an experimental way and their good results observed. Other suggestions may easily be put into operation without foreclosing the opportunity to revert to status quo if found desirable. Some suggestions which might prove difficult to operate effectively now may be tried out after a new morale level has been reached in later months or years. Many of the recommendations are applicable, with modifications, to other municipalities, large or small.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

THE CUSTODY OF STATE FUNDS. By Martin L. Faust. National Institute for Public Administration, 261 Broadway, New York City, 1925. Pp. 176.

This monograph, one of a series of studies recently projected by the National Institute of Public Administration, deals with a subject which has received all too scant attention in the literature of public finance. In view of the immensity of the sums involved and the notorious abuses that have characterized state treasury operations, it is not a little surprising that no thorough survey has hitherto been made of the problem of the custody of state funds. While treasury balances have been increasing by leaps and bounds in the past decade as state revenue has expanded to meet the growth of expenditures, experience has not been such as to warrant popular complacency as to the administration of public funds. Absconding has indeed become rare, but there are other forms of maladministration which have tenaciously persisted to the profit of politicians and favored bankers. Probably no more striking instance of such buccaneering in the handling of public money has arisen in recent years than the well-known case of Governor Small in Illinois.

Dr. Faust has divided his study into two parts. In the first he presents a general survey of state legislation and practice in the administration of funds and in the second a more detailed examination of the development of the depository systems of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. The first part is more particularly designed for the student of public finance who desires a compact treatment of the problems involved in the efficient management of state funds, while the second part is largely historical in character and of interest in tracing the evolution of present methods and the abuses which brought them forth.

After analysing the principal legal provisions governing the deposit of state money, Dr. Faust proceeds to an evaluation of these requirements in the light of experience and to a consideration of several related matters affecting the administration of funds. Among the chief problems discussed are the methods of selecting depositories and determining the apportionment of public money among them, the fixing of the interest rate on deposits, the nature and amount of security to be required on deposits, the necessity for centralized treasury control, and the desirability of reducing the number of state funds.

On the basis of his study the author has reached a number of conclusions which constitute the principal value of the book. In selecting depositories he finds that competitive bidding affords the greatest protection against favoritism and graft in the apportionment of state money and at the same time produces the highest interest rates. For safety the amount placed with any single bank should not exceed the capital and surplus of the institution and security should be required, preferably in the form of the bond of a surety company. Among other matters the author emphasizes the importance of maintaining but a single treasury and compelling the prompt payment of state receipts thereto. Greater care in stabilizing deposits is urged and the desirability of advance notice in withdrawing inactive deposits is pointed out. In the main the author's conclusions concerning the various phases of his subject appear thoroughly sound and have been substantiated in the experience of the state themselves.

R. C. ATKINSON.

Columbia University.

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THE TOWN COUNCILLOR. By C. R. Atlee and William A. Robson. London: The Labour Publishing Co. Ltd. 3 S. Pp. 127.

Local government in England includes county councils, county borough councils, boroughs, rural district councils and parish councils, as well as municipalities. In this little book of 127 pages there is compacted a truly immense amount of information of value not only to the official charged with specific duties, but to the student who wants quickly to inform himself about the general details of these several branches of local government. It is designed, however, for the tyro, having been prepared for the guidance of Labor representatives themselves. It is a striking illustration of the thoroughness

of the Labor party in England, for it was written primarily to help the new Labor members who were not informed as to their duties, but it is not a partisan book, although written in sympathy with the ever-widening development of government functions. From it one learns that the municipal civil service is highly developed, but that a good deal of patronage still exists among the smaller authorities, and "is one of the scandals of English public life." As illustrating the temper and spirit of the book its authors point out that there is not among Labor members "a clear comprehension of the conditions which are necessary to produce and maintain a high standard of efficiency and competency in the municipal service." A capital chapter on "The Civic Spirit" concludes a book which also has no counterpart in this country.

C. R. W.

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REPORT ON PASSENGER TRANSPORTATION IN THE CLEVELAND METROPOLITAN AREA. By the Greater Cleveland Transportation Committee. 1925.

The Report on Passenger Transportation in the Cleveland Metropolitan Area by the Greater Cleveland Transportation Committee represents the kind of co-operation which is greatly needed between the municipal authorities of all the metropolitan areas in this country. The Cleveland committee was appointed by the president of the Metropolitan Council, and consisted of three members of the Cleveland City Council, a representative of each of the three suburban cities of Lakewood, Cleveland Heights, and East Cleveland, and one member at large. It was requested to investigate the passenger transportation problems of the metropolitan area and to submit to the Metropolitan Council and to the governing bodies of the four municipalities its recommendations.

The committee is satisfied that motor buses will never take the place of surface cars, but that there should be a co-ordinated service of the two forms of transportation under the Cleveland Railway Company. No need is seen for an elaborate and expensive transit investigation, as the Cleveland public is well posted on local needs and conditions. A Public Relations Department should be established by the Railway Company to promote a better understanding between public and company, and to help in building up service. The problem of traffic congestion was found to be handled so effectively by existing agencies that no particular study was made of it.

The Taglen Grant of 1910 was found to have worked satisfactorily as a whole, except that new capital could not be sold at par, as required under the grant, and consequently was not forthcoming. The committee declined to recommend any increase in the dividend rate of 6 per cent, as requested by the company, believing that sufficient new capital could be obtained if the grant were extended from 1944 to 1950; the maximum fare to be fixed at 10 cents; the interest fund to be $1,000,000 before fares are reduced, instead of $500,000; and other modifications to be adopted by the Cleveland City Council. The nine different rates of fare throughout the metropolitan area should be revised, so that the entire City of Cleveland shall have one rate of fare, based on service-at-cost, and the three suburban cities should pay one cent more than the Cleveland rate. Certain economies in operation are recommended, especially the trial of motor buses on three unprofitable lines.

The committee believes that Cleveland is not ready for rapid transit yet, but that it will be required in the future in some form in addition to any facilities which the Van Sweningen interests may provide. Any subways should be owned by the city, and operated by the company under a service-at-cost plan, a material part of the cost to be assessed upon the property benefited.

A Permanent Metropolitan Transportation Board is recommended, four members to be appointed by the Cleveland City Council, and one by each of the suburban cities. The board should be purely an advisory one, to study such questions as the betterment of street car service; the most effective co-ordination of electric cars and motor buses; the financing of future improvements; co-operation between the municipalities; and the construction of rapid transit lines.

JOHN P. FOX

ITEMS ON MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING

EDITED BY WILLIAM A. BASSETT

Advisory Committee Feature of New Traffic Act for London.—The establishment of an advisory committee to investigate and report on all phases of London's street traffic problem is a feature of an act of Parliament which received royal assent during the early summer and has recently become operative in the city of London. This act designed to provide means for developing plans to relieve the congested condition of London's streets affects an area extending twenty-five miles from Charing Cross. Among its provisions are regulations designed to effect better co-ordination of street improvement work, the prescribing of bus routes and the licensing and limiting of the number of buses operating over approved routes and the reporting on and investigation of street accidents of all kinds. The enforcement of the provisions of this act is delegated to the minister of transport who is empowered to formulate regulations limiting the amount of traffic on any particular route and also restricting the character of vehicles permitted to use certain streets. As an example of centralized authority over traffic matters other than the exercising of strictly police duties, this arrangement offers possible means of effecting administrative control over traffic, the working out of which should be of interest to American cities faced with a traffic problem extending beyond their immediate limits.

Financing Municipal Water Supply Extensions.—The financing of extensions to the water supply system is an annually recurrent problem for every growing community and yet there is a surprising lack of uniformity in the methods employed in this important matter and many examples of unsound financial policy. Naturally the precise method that can be most advantageously followed will vary somewhat with local conditions, but there is one principle that should be recognized in every case. This is, that any method of paying for water main extensions into new territory which places the whole or any part of the cost of the extension on the consumer as a whole is basically wrong. By extension is meant the installation of a water pipe of size sufficient to provide proper domestic and fire protection service for the immediate locality, the water department assuming all cost in excess of the above which is needed to strengthen the system as a whole. The following comment outlines certain of the main considerations entering into this problem.

Funds to meet the cost of local water main extensions are obtained from a variety of sources. These include water revenues, tax levy, bonds and special assessments on property served. Financing extensions from the tax levy has little or no sound basis unless it be done in lieu of taxation to meet the cost of fire protection furnished by the city without charge. The use of bonds to finance these extensions is generally followed in combination with the guarantee method. When this method is employed an arrangement is made between the municipality furnishing the service and the property owners desiring water supply for their properties under which the city or the municipality meets the initial cost of making the extension out of bonds, and the property owners guarantee a return from water revenues sufficiently large to cover their proportional share of all maintenance and operating charges incidental to furnishing the water supply and also to pay fixed charges including depreciation on the capital investment which the extension represents. In the case of a privately owned utility, the use of the guarantee method is a suitable one. With a publicly-operated utility run substantially at cost, there appears to be no argument for the use of this method unless it provides for an addition in the rate charge over the prevailing one sufficient to pay fixed charges over a given term of years.

Among other objections to the guarantee method in the financing of local extensions by municipally-owned systems are: First, difficulty in getting consent of all owners of abutting property along the street in which the extension is to be laid to participate in the payment of a guarantee. Second, if all property owners do not participate under the guarantee method, those failing to do so will profit unduly over the ones

meeting the expense of the guarantee as the benefit inhering to property by reason of the extension will be uniformly distributed over the district served. Third, it occasionally happens unless careful investigation is made of the probable return from revenues that the result from contemplated extensions may not be sufficient to meet the guarantee on the cost of the extension. In this event, of course, the community has recourse to placing liens on the property furnishing the guarantee as a means of reimbursing itself for expenditures made. However, procedure of this kind is undesirable, except when necessary on account of failure to pay legitimate charges for use of water. Any arrangement that may tend to produce conditions demanding action of this kind is an undesirable one from many points of view. All in all the objections to the guarantee method for muncipally-owned water systems outweigh any possible advantages it may possess.

During the past few years there has been a distinct trend towards employing the method of special assessment in the financing of local water main extensions. There are sound grounds for this practice as water supply confers a real benefit to the property served. This method also provides a means of extending the system to meet increasing needs of a community and at the same time places the burden of financing such work on the property directly benefited.

In the applications of the method of special assessment to the financing of local water main extensions, the following conditions should be observed.

1. The water department should determine whether the extension is required by public convenience and necessity and when so decided should establish a definite means for assessment based upon the average cost of laying a water main of proper size to supply both domestic and fire protection service to the street in question.

2. The water department (for the municipality) should pay the proportion of the cost which is for general benefit, usually from one-fourth to two-thirds the cost of the extension.

3. Two methods seem applicable for payment of the assessment: (a) a frontage tax against all abutting property which may be served by the extension; (b) an "entrance fee" for the privilege of connecting with the water main, based on lot frontage.

4. The assessment should be payable in a lump sum or in installments during a fixed term of years.

The use of a frontage tax has certain objectionable features unless the rate charge is modified from time to time to meet any changing cost in water main construction.

When such conditions exist it is necessary to provide funds to meet immediate expenditures in some other way. In general a flat frontage tax does not constitute an equitable distribution of the cost as it usually produces revenues either in excess or below the amount required. There is no inherent difficulty in keeping cost of laying water main extensions and basing the assessment on the actual cost of the work. This method is to be recommended.

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To the Members of the National Municipal League:

The Committee on Nominations begs to submit herewith, in accordance with the constitution, the following nominations to fill vacancies occasioned by expiration of terms in 1925:

For President—Frank L. Polk, New York.

For Vice Presidents—Richard S. Childs, New York; Carter Glass, Washington, D. C.; Charles Evans Hughes, New York; W. D. Lighthall, Montreal; Meyer Lissner, Washington, D. C.; A. Lawrence Lowell, Cambridge, Mass; J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg; C. E. Merriam, Chicago; W. B. Munro, Cambridge, Mass.; L. S. Rowe, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Hyde Park, N. Y.

For Treasurer—Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York.

To Fill vacancies on the Council in class of 1926—William P. Lovett, Detroit; William Parr Capes, Albany, New York.

To fill vacancy on the Council in class of 1927—Herbert E. Fleming, Chicago.

For Council—Class of 1928—M. N. Baker, N. Y.; J. P. Chamberlain, N. Y.; C. A. Dykstra, Los Angeles; Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis; Chauncey Hamlin, Buffalo; Mrs. John T. Pratt, N. Y.; Lawson Purdy, N. Y.; Howard Strong, Philadelphia; Mrs. Ordway Tead, N. Y.; Lent D. Upson, Detroit.

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE.
SAMUEL A. CARLSON,
RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL,
RAYMOND MOLEY,
WILLIAM J. SCHIEFFELIN,
LAWSON PURDY, *Chairman.*

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE NOTES

BY ARCH MANDEL

The Vancouver Bureau of Civic Research should be added to the list of research agencies. T. Howard Goodwin, assistant secretary, is the executive, and the address is 107 London Building, Vancouver, British Columbia.

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Newark Bureau of Research.—In its recent report on "The Cost of Cleaning Public Buildings in Newark," the Bureau of Research of the Newark Chamber of Commerce has pointed out how the cost can be reduced from $74,034 to $41,860, without detriment to the service; in fact, in order to be fair, the report recommends a wage payment in excess of the generally accepted wage.

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The following researchers were present at the conference on the science of politics held at Columbia University, September 7–11: L. E. Carter of Cleveland, W. C. Beyer and C. A. Howland of Philadelphia, and L. H. Gulick, P. H. Cornick, C. E. McCombs, W. Watson, and A. E. Buck of New York.

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El Paso, Texas, is having installed a unit system for the valuation of real estate for taxation purposes. The tax and economy committee of the Chamber of Commerce is following the work, and is co-operating with the assessor in fixing property values.

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Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.—During the past two months the bureau has been preparing a series of six bulletins explaining and giving a short history of the council-manager form of government for cities. It also co-operated with the Ontario Municipal Association in its twenty-sixth annual convention, which has just been held at the City Hall, Toronto. The director of the bureau is secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Municipal Association.

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Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.—The institute has issued another instalment of its municipal statistics service, and has completed a study of taxation in Canada in relation to the national production.

The main work of the institute during the summer months has been arranging for the third annual meeting of the Canadian Tax Conference and the second annual meeting of the Canadian Civil Service Research Conference, which met at the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, on September 29 and 30 and October 1. These organizations are departments of the institute and have over five hundred members from all parts of Canada.

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Taxpayers' League, Duluth.—Assignments under way include budget studies for the city, county, and schools for the year 1926; and a study involving the removal of some 750,000 cubic yards of rock which lie in the center of Duluth, dividing two of the city's most important business districts.

The Duluth city planning commission, after three years' work, has submitted a zoning ordinance to the city council. It will probably have been adopted at this date.

Joseph F. Base, engineer, recently graduated from the Syracuse University School of Public Affairs and Citizenship, and of the National Institute of Public Administration, has been added to the staff of the Taxpayers' League. J. R. Pratt, graduate of the University of Minnesota School of Public Administration, who has been working with Morris Lambie, of the University Bureau of Governmental Research, has also been added to Mr. Goodrich's staff.

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Kansas City Public Service Institute.—The five-year public improvement program which has been in the process of preparation since spring has been completed. The Public Service Institute served as research agency for the Public Improvement Association. The report to the improvement association is limited to improvements involving the expenditure of bond

funds, and is in the form of a list of bond proposals with necessary explanation and discussion.

The new Kansas City charter has been upheld by the supreme court of Missouri. It was attacked on various grounds, and the decision of the court upheld the charter on every count. The city and charter friends co-operated in the suit, since they were anxious to have a decision on all possible points. The first election under the charter will take place November 3 with a primary on October 13. At the time of writing this, there is a considerable interest in candidates. Nominating petitions must be filed by September 15. There is no strong independent citizens' movement, but indications are that there will be a considerable number of independents and unusually strong tickets presented by both of the major parties.

Mr. G. W. Hall, Jr., has been added to the staff of the institute as engineer.

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Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.—Study of the concealed weapon arrests in Toledo for 1924 shows that out of 98 arrests made by the police department, only 19 individuals were sent to the state prison on this charge. Seven of the 98 were fined between $25 and $50; 15 were given suspended sentences, 4 were found not guilty by jury, and the balance were discharged or nol-prossed. This report was made to cover one local phase of the nation-wide movement to combat crime initiated by the National Crime Commission.

The commission of publicity and efficiency is now engaged in making a survey of the health department of the city of Toledo. The commission is using as a guide Public Health Bulletin No. 135 containing a report on municipal health department practices by the American Public Health Association in co-operation with United States public health service. The Toledo situation is complicated by the fact that the city's straitened finances have forced it at various times in the last decade to turn over to private institutions certain health department activities.

An attempt to prevent over-appropriating by council this year has been made by the commission of publicity and efficiency, which has obtained the passage of an ordinance providing that the legislative body cannot authorize any appropriations during the year without a certificate of revenue availability from the finance director.

This ordinance was successful in checking supplementary appropriations early in the spring, but later council authorized considerable expenditures without these certificates. Recently the commission again called the attention of the city council to this delinquency, and the latter agreed to abide by the provisions of this ordinance. In past years the state examiner has charged that the city council has appropriated huge sums in excess of revenues which have resulted in deficits funded by deficiency bonds.

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Ohio Institute.—Prentice Reeves, formerly of the department of psychology at Ohio Wesleyan University, has joined the staff of the Ohio Institute to specialize in the field of penology.

A study of state aid to local schools, county equalization of school revenues, and school districting is being undertaken by the Ohio Institute for the Ohio State Teachers' Association.

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Syracuse University School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.—The School of Citizenship and Public Affairs has two research projects under way at the present time. The first is being handled by Mr. Robert Whitten, city planner formerly connected with the commission in the city of Cleveland, with whom several graduate students in public administration have been co-operating. The investigation deals with methods of handling new allotments in selected cities of New York state. This covers both the control of such allotments by city authorities, width and character of streets, the presence or absence of recreational fields, as well as the whole question of values. It is anticipated that the report will be published by December next.

The second project is being handled by members of the school staff in co-operation with the members of the staff of the National Institute of Public Administration and the Bureau of Public Roads at Washington. The question under consideration is as to the economics of road building with particular reference to the distribution of the tax burden in relation to the advantages which accrue from the improved roads. The data collected by the Bureau of Public Roads of the federal government are being used as the point of departure of the investigation.

NOTES AND EVENTS

BY A. E. BUCK

Pasadena Emasculates the Manager Plan.—City Manager C. Wellington Koiner of Pasadena recently resigned because of encroachments by the council upon the administrative field of the manager. The council passed an ordinance which provided that each member of that body should assume administrative responsibility for one or more of the city departments. Heretofore the manager had appointed the heads of these departments and they had worked under his direction. By this ordinance the power of the manager to remove or discipline the departmental heads was made subject to the approval of the council. Any employee who becomes dissatisfied with the rulings of the manager may appeal directly to the council. Mr. Koiner maintained that this ordinance resulted in the "emasculation of the manager plan so far as it applied to Pasadena, making the manager nothing more nor less than an office boy or clerk to the board."

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Administrative Changes in Baltimore.—In a recent message to members of the city council Mayor Jackson of Baltimore outlines the accomplishments of his administration. One thing that is especially interesting is the work of the mayor's commission on efficiency and economy. This commission studied the administrative organization and methods of the city government and suggested a number of improvements. The most of these have already been adopted. A central payroll bureau, a bureau of receipts, and a bureau of disbursements have been established. The office of collector of water rents and licenses has been consolidated with the office of the collector of taxes. Authority has been obtained from the state legislature for the enactment of a general pension system; the city council has provided by ordinance for the appointment of a retirement commission, which is engaged in working out the permanent pension system. An ordinance was passed making adjustments in the license fees of the markets, so they are now on a self-supporting basis.

The engineering committee of the commission on economy and efficiency recently completed a detailed report recommending the consolidation of a number of agencies into a department of public works. An ordinance creating this proposed department was enacted in July. It provides for the establishment of a department of public works headed by a chief engineer appointed by the mayor with the consent of the council. This department has the following ten bureaus: water supply, highways, sewers, harbors, mechanical-electrical service, buildings, street cleaning, plans and surveys, standards, and transportation.

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Westchester County (N. Y.) Park Plans.—The Westchester county park commission recently published its third annual report. This report outlines the activities of the commission and shows that $21,700,000 has been spent by the county on parks during the last three years. The commission has acquired 10,815 acres of park lands and laid out 122 miles of parkways. All the parks are to have athletic fields, and some are to have bathing beaches and golf courses. Facilities for family outings are to be supplied at all parks.

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Distribution of the Local Tax Dollar in Cook County (Chicago).—An interesting analysis of the distribution of the tax dollar and the cost of Cook county government has recently been made by J. L. Jacobs & Company for the board of county commissioners. This analysis shows that out of every dollar of taxes collected in Cook county 8.3 cents goes to the county government and the remainder, or 91.7 cents, is distributed as follows: board of education, 35.4 cents; city of Chicago, 33.4 cents; parks, 9.9 cents; state government, 7.6 cents; and sanitary district, 5.4 cents. The total for the support of the county government in 1925 amounts to $13,500,000. This is expended on the following percentage basis: institutions, social service and education, 43.4 per cent; assessment and collection of taxes, 14.6 per cent; prevention and prosecution of crime and criminal court activities, 15.1 per cent; civil court activities, 11.8 per cent; recording of titles, 8.6 per cent; miscellaneous, 6.5 per cent.

The Western States Taxpayers' Conference was held at Portland, Oregon, on August 25–26. Twelve western states were represented: namely, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. The program was devoted largely to tax problems, especially those confronting the states represented.

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Problems of American Democracy is the title of a syllabus prepared by the Columbia College staff in government and adapted for university extension work by Schuyler C. Wallace. It is designed primarily for students, but should be of interest to the general reader who wishes to do introductory reading in American government. The subject matter is presented not in terms of governmental organization, but through the study of a series of problems and processes common to all units of government. By this method it is thought a more realistic conception of government and its functions can be gathered. The ten major headings of the outline are: popular control, the legal frame of government, law making, the executive and administration, the personnel problem, public finance, the administration of justice and the preservation of order, human welfare, economic development, and international relations.

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State Gasoline Taxes.—E. P. Learned of the University of Kansas has written a 94-page bulletin on this subject which was published by the University on March 15. This document treats the subject under the following chapter headings: origin and purposes of the gasoline tax, arguments for and against the gasoline tax, the spread and development of the tax, administration of the tax, exemptions from gasoline tax and distribution of receipts, and incidence of the gasoline tax. A rather complete summary of the court decisions on gasoline tax is given. On the whole the text is quite readable. It may be regarded as being right up to date, since it gives the status of the tax as of July 1 of this year.

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Methods of State Separation.—The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has published a memorandum (No. 86) on this subject prepared by Prof. Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan. It states that "on occasions the question has been raised in New York, Chicago, and Detroit, as to whether numerous problems of municipal and state government could not be best settled by the separation of these cities from their respective states, and their creation into separate states." Professor Reed has outlined the method of separation that might be followed in the case of Detroit. It is claimed that "should the unprecedented growth of cities continue, requiring the development of large metropolitan districts, and the problem of metropolitan representation and taxation with respect to the balance of the state remain unsettled, city-state separation is not a fantastic, even if remote, possibility."

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The Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs.—Recently a large scale map of the New York region made in 23 sections by the United States geological survey was delivered to the Regional Plan of New York Committee. This map shows the city and Long Island and extends east into Connecticut as far as Bridgeport. It goes north in New York state as far as Newburgh and west and south in New Jersey as far as Lake Hopatcong and the north Jersey coast. The area covered by the map is more than 5,500 square miles. The map is on the scale of 2,000 feet to the inch. About 9,000,000 people live and work in the 400 cities and towns in the area covered by this map, which is the "region" of the regional plan.

In commenting on the plan, Mr. Thomas Adams, director of the Regional Plan of New York Committee, said:

> In making a regional plan which is greater in respect of area, population and complexity of problems than any hitherto attempted, we should consider all proposals to be put on the plan from a regional point of view, and therefore in broad outline, leaving detailed city planning to the municipal authorities. Thus, while we are indicating new railways or highways we will have to assume that the contours are approximately correct, and leave the selection of precise routes to the detailed planning which should be carried out by the different communities.
>
> There is no really good precedent to guide us; part of our duty is to make a precedent. A regional plan should be a guide in regard to the functional development of the region rather than an attempt to define arbitrarily the uses of different areas within it.

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Conditions of Municipal Employment in Chicago.—This is the title of a printed report made by Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago and submitted to the city council of Chicago June 10, 1925. It is a document of 114 pages devoted largely to a study of the morale of the

city service. Elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW is an article by Professor White which summarizes the conditions which he found and the recommendations which he made to meet them.

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New Jersey's Proposed Constitutional Amendments Attacked.—The 1925 session of the New Jersey legislature passed amendments to the constitution which, if approved by the people of the state, will enable municipalities to adopt zoning ordinances, provide for biennial legislative sessions, a two-year term for assemblymen, and a four-year term for the governor. These amendments have been recently attacked as being irregular. It is claimed that in passing the zoning amendment the yeas and nays of the members of the house were omitted from the house minutes, although there is a constitutional requirement that these be recorded. It is also claimed that the other proposed changes, embodied in one resolution, provide for five amendments to the phrasing of the present constitution.

♣

History of Pasadena's Municipal Light and Power Plant.—This is the title of an interesting story in pamphlet form of the growth and cost of the municipal light and power plant of Pasadena prepared by General Manager C. W. Koiner. The plant has been in operation since 1909. During its operation it is estimated that savings resulting to the users of electrical energy amount to more than $3,000,000. The maximum rate is 5 cents per kilowatt hour as against an average of 6.5 cents charged by private concerns in the neighboring cities, excluding Los Angeles.

♣

Cleveland Politicians Outvoted.—The best laid plans of mice and politicians still go wrong now and then, even when laid in August, the month when all the city dwellers who can get away take vacations and many of those left behind succumb to the attacks of general apathy. In proof whereof we cite the defeat at Cleveland, Ohio, on August 11, of a charter amendment designed to return from proportional representation to the good old ward system of electing councilmen. Reports are that the politicians of both the leading parties united to carry the amendment, but though the vote was even lighter than the most hopeful predicted—41,280 out of a possible 200,000—there was a majority of 800 against the change. Ordinarily these light votes are interpreted as showing lack of interest in municipal affairs. In this Cleveland instance it seems to indicate even more strongly a misgaging of public sentiment by the politicians who maintained that a year or so of proportional representation had convinced the public of its unwisdom. The results at Cleveland are all the more significant because, if the politicians had won, then their next attack, it is believed, would have been against the city manager plan. Cleveland is much the largest American city which has adopted either proportional representation or the city manager plan. It is to be hoped that each will be kept in use at least until it has had a fair trial on such a large scale.—*Editorial in Engineering News-Record for August 20, 1925.*

♣

Analysis of the Finances of the State of Indiana, 1913–1923.—This analysis is published in the "Indiana University Studies" (No. 63). It was prepared by Charles Kettleborough, director of the Indiana legislative reference bureau, and Frederic H. Guild, formerly of the Indiana University. According to the figures given, the cost of the state government of Indiana during the 11 years from 1912 to 1923 increased from $9,125,600 to $30,578,400, representing an aggregate increase of $21,452,800, or 235 per cent. This increase is accounted for in the following manner:

1. Increase in the cost of general government	$402,500
2. Increase in schools, state institutions, etc.	9,288,100
3. Added by services established in 1913 or subsequently	11,766,600
4. Increase in cost of reorganized and expanded departments	176,900
Total increases	$21,634,100
Less decreases in cost of services	181,300
Total increase to be accounted for	$21,452,800

The interesting items in this tabulation relate to the rapid increase in the cost of education and welfare work and the tremendous expansion of state services. These two make up practically the total increase in the cost of the state government over this period. The other items are negligible. Is Indiana's experience in this matter typical of that of the other states?

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We are glad to publish a statement from Director W. H. Nanry of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, taking exception to certain parts of a note which we published in the June REVIEW (p. 387), concerning a report pre-

pared by the bureau on the depreciation requirements of the San Francisco municipal railway:

The comment questions the basis of estimating depreciation as adopted by the bureau, and goes on to state, "It is also questionable whether it is fair to ask a street railway to maintain full depreciation reserves when bond redemption and extensions financed from earnings are at least equal to depreciation. Without passing judgment upon the financial policy of the San Francisco Municipal Railway, we feel that the standards of judgment of the San Francisco Bureau are unusually difficult. Most privately-owned street railways do not attempt to retire bonds from earnings and very few, if any, have undertaken to maintain depreciation funds by anything like the basis here proposed."

The basis of estimating depreciation, which the bureau used in its report, is the summary of experience throughout the country, considerable data on which were included as part of the report. In our judgment the only debatable point is, from the accounting standpoint, as to whether the depreciation reserves should be such as to absorb estimated depreciation requirements on the basis of reproduction costs, instead of the lower historical costs. As to whether a street railway should maintain depreciation reserves, when bond redemption and extensions financed from earnings are at least equal to depreciation, the answer must depend upon whether the railway is expected to have available resources to cover inevitable depreciation requirements when the various parts of the property wear out and must be replaced. Theoretically, if a property is worth $5,000,000, depreciates to the extent of $1,000,000, and on the other hand is given added value by the investment of $1,000,000 of earnings in extensions to the original property, the new investment has offset the depreciation and, therefore, cash reserves are not required. Actually, however, unless a street railway can borrow on the $1,000,000 of new investment it will have no cash to meet required cash expenditures if the accrued depreciation of $1,000,000 is of such character as to require renewals and replacements.

The salient point in the financial policy of the San Francisco Municipal Railway was as to the effect of the abandonment of the original depreciation plan. Although the 18 per cent of gross passenger revenues set aside for depreciation, bond redemption and accident claims was a novel method, it was, as originally calculated, sufficient to set up adequate depreciation reserves. The weakness rested in the fact that although called a depreciation fund it was considered as a surplus or profit fund, and within the last several years was appropriated for various purposes not contemplated when it was originally created.

We have felt that the imposition of depreciation and bond redemption charges on the earnings of a publicly-owned utility has placed a heavier burden on the revenues of publicly-owned utilities than is the custom and practice for privately-owned utilities. The solution, in our opinion, however, is not to be found by the abandonment of adequate depreciation reserves. It has been stated that many of the public utility difficulties of recent years have been due to the earlier inadequacy of accounting systems, and the failure to recognize the necessity of current depreciation charges to meet future replacement expenditures.

To bring the financial policy of publicly-owned utilities to a basis more nearly comparable with those of privately-owned utilities, it would seem logical that the taxpayers should assume the burden of bond redemption, and that the earnings of the publicly-owned utility should pay into the general fund, for the benefit of the taxpayers, interest on the capital value of the property used by the utility.

However, the usual argument that is advanced for publicly-owned utility projects is, as you know, that the project can pay for itself out of its own earnings, and that after the original bond issues are retired can promise unusually low rates by the elimination of debt charges for capital expenditures.